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BOSTON UNIVERSITY
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Thesis

THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C. IN JEWISH
HISTORY AND RELIGION

by

Charles Abram Reeves
(A.B. Hamlin University, 1930)

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OUTLINE

I. Introduction --- The Historical Development in Judaism from 580 - 500 B. C.	Page	1
A. The Second Captivity, the Destruction of Jerusalem, the Exile to 500 B. C.	Page	2
1. Sources from which the facts are taken.	Page	2
a. The Old Testament.	Page	2
b. Literature of the Period.	Page	4
2. The Facts.	Page	6
a. The Jews among the Chaldeans.	Page	7
b. The Jews among the Egyptians.	Page	10
c. The Jews in Palestine.	Page	12
B. Prophetic Activity during the Period.	Page	13
1. Jeremiah.	Page	13
2. Ezekiel.	Page	14
3. Deutero-Isaiah.	Page	15
4. Haggai.	Page	17
5. Zechariah.	Page	19
C. The Close of the Sixth Century and Its Heritage to the Fifth.	Page	19
II. The History of the Fifth Century.	Page	21
A. External History.	Page	21
1. Persia.	Page	21
2. Egypt.	Page	28
B. Internal History.	Page	29

OUTLINE

Page 1	I. Introduction -- The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 2	A. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 3	B. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 4	C. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 5	D. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 6	E. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 7	F. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 8	G. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 9	H. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 10	I. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 11	J. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 12	K. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 13	L. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 14	M. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 15	N. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 16	O. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 17	P. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 18	Q. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 19	R. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 20	S. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 21	T. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 22	U. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 23	V. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 24	W. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 25	X. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 26	Y. The Historical Development of the Problem
Page 27	Z. The Historical Development of the Problem

1. The Dark Period.	Page 29
2. The Remainder of the Century.	Page 38
a. Biblical History.	Page 38
1. Malachi.	Page 38
2. Ezra.	Page 41
3. Nehemiah.	Page 57
III. The Literature Produced.	Page 68
A. The Internal Literature.	Page 68
1. Historical --- Nehemiah.	Page 68
2. Prophetic.	Page 68
a. Malachi.	Page 68
b. Obadiah.	Page 72
c. Trito-Isaiah.	Page 76
d. Isaiah 34 & 35.	Page 81
3. The Psalms.	Page 82
4. Job.	Page 93
5. The Priestly Code.	Page 102
B. Secular and Uncanonical Literature.	Page 106
1. Elephantine Papyri.	Page 106
IV. Problems of the Period.	Page 111
A. Political.	Page 111
B. Economic.	Page 112

C. Social. Page 113

D. Religious. Page 116

V. Summary. Page 118

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Page 1

**I. INTRODUCTION: The Historical Development in Judaism
from 586-500 B. C.**

The literature which arrests our attention is found almost wholly within the bounds of the Hebrew Old Testament. The Priestly Code to which the entire first chapter and a large part of the first book of the Old Testament belong, and also the last book of the Old Testament, Malachi, were both written in this period.

Old Testament literature is connected most directly to Old Testament life and so we shall leave the problems of authorship and works and pass pleasantly along the simple trails of the land of Palestine and the surrounding countryside, meeting a few people, witnessing a few events — living again, in our imagination, those days which bear unmistakable signs of a great, moving, divine force upon the lives and actions of an otherwise unfortunate people.

The story of the Hebrews from the time of Moses until the period under consideration resembles much the economic cycle of the world. These people, like the sea, knew many waves and troughs; they witnessed the ebb and flow of the tide of national and religious life. At times we see the clouds part and through them glimpse a vision

Page 2

of great mountain peaks of experience, of power, and accomplishment. Then the clouds close, and the scene becomes dark and depressing. It is a wonder, to me, as I read their story, that the race continued as long and has given the world the heritage that it did.

In the running history of the Hebrews, we come to the period of the rule of the Chaldeans. Many of the aristocracy of Jerusalem, including the priests, were sent off into Babylon; the temple was destroyed, and the walls were demolished.

After the murder of Gedaliah, one may well imagine that the Chaldeans sent a band of soldiers to gain revenge. Without a doubt, in the face of this new danger, many of the remaining Hebrews left Judah for Egypt where we find a temple to Jehovah (Yahweh) at Elephantine. Among this group we place Jeremiah and forthwith lose sight of the great prophet.

A. The Second Captivity (586 B. C.) and the Destruction of Jerusalem through the Exile to 500 B. C.

1. Sources from which the facts are taken.

a. Sections of the Old Testament which give the history.

¹
In the second book of Kings we find that

1 -- Kings II, 25:22, also Jeremiah 40:5.

of great mountain peaks of snow, of power, and of
alignment. Then the clouds closed, and the scene became
dark and mysterious. It is a matter, to say, as I read
their story, that the race continued as long and as wild
the world the heavens that it did.

In the remote history of the Hebrews, we come
to the period of the rule of the Chaldeans. Many of the
religions of Jerusalem, including the priests, were sent
off into Babylon; the temple was destroyed, and the walls
were demolished.

After the return of Babylon, one may well im-
agine that the Chaldeans sent a host of soldiers to gain
revenge. Without a doubt, in the face of this new danger,
many of the remaining Hebrews left their land for ever there.
we find a letter to Jehoiach (Yehoiachin) at Babel.
Among these from a wife Jehoiach and forthwith lose
sight of the great crowd.

1. The second part of the book is the story of the
return of the Jews to their land. It is a story of
I. The return of the Jews to their land.
II. The return of the Jews to their land.
III. The return of the Jews to their land.
IV. The return of the Jews to their land.
V. The return of the Jews to their land.
VI. The return of the Jews to their land.
VII. The return of the Jews to their land.
VIII. The return of the Jews to their land.
IX. The return of the Jews to their land.
X. The return of the Jews to their land.
XI. The return of the Jews to their land.
XII. The return of the Jews to their land.
XIII. The return of the Jews to their land.
XIV. The return of the Jews to their land.
XV. The return of the Jews to their land.
XVI. The return of the Jews to their land.
XVII. The return of the Jews to their land.
XVIII. The return of the Jews to their land.
XIX. The return of the Jews to their land.
XX. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXI. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXII. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXIII. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXIV. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXV. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXVI. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXVII. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXVIII. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXIX. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXX. The return of the Jews to their land.

In the second book of Kings we find that
I. The return of the Jews to their land.
II. The return of the Jews to their land.
III. The return of the Jews to their land.
IV. The return of the Jews to their land.
V. The return of the Jews to their land.
VI. The return of the Jews to their land.
VII. The return of the Jews to their land.
VIII. The return of the Jews to their land.
IX. The return of the Jews to their land.
X. The return of the Jews to their land.
XI. The return of the Jews to their land.
XII. The return of the Jews to their land.
XIII. The return of the Jews to their land.
XIV. The return of the Jews to their land.
XV. The return of the Jews to their land.
XVI. The return of the Jews to their land.
XVII. The return of the Jews to their land.
XVIII. The return of the Jews to their land.
XIX. The return of the Jews to their land.
XX. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXI. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXII. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXIII. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXIV. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXV. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXVI. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXVII. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXVIII. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXIX. The return of the Jews to their land.
XXX. The return of the Jews to their land.

Page 3

Gedaliah was made governor of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar when he left in 586 B. C.

Beginning with the 39th chapter of Jeremiah, we find more references to our period. The first reference tells of Nebuchadnezzar's orders to release Jeremiah under the Guidance of Gedaliah, the governor. This is valuable information inasmuch as we can use this information as a basis for history, from this point forward. In the same chapter², the author tells us that those who were not taken into the exile were the poor. These apparently were given enough land to make their living upon. We learn more of the situation above in the first sixteen verses of Jeremiah, and the parallel account of II Kings, 25:23 ff. Gedaliah's assassination and the migration to Egypt is told in Jeremiah 41:1 - 43:7, and parts of that story are told in II Kings 25:25, 26.

II Kings 25:27-30 and Jeremiah 52:31-34 tell of the release of Jehoiachin which must have taken place somewhere near the middle of the sixth century B. C.³ Leslie⁴ dates this event in 561 B. C. while Creelman dates it in 560 or 559 B. C. At any rate, scholars agree that Amilmarduk was the King who freed Jehoiachin,

1 -- Jeremiah 39:11-14.

2 -- Jeremiah 39:10.

3 -- Abingdon Bible Commentary, Leslie, E. A., Chronology of the Old Testament, p. 111.

4 -- Creelman, H., Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 193.

and we know his rule lasted two years at the most.

From the scant historical information of the period immediately preceding, we must draw a good share of our background. There remains only one further assistance. To this period we assign certain writings which we will now examine. The writer of this paper has no intention of considering the intricate details of these fragments. His only interest, at this point, is to reconstruct the background out of which the 5th century came.

b. Literature created during the period which will aid in our historical view.

¹
1.) Creelman gives us much help here in listing the work of Ezekiel in three parts.

a.) The first messages come to us from Babylonia during 586 and the years immediately following. In chapter 25 the destruction of Ammon and the neighboring nations is predicted; from 26:1 to 28:19 the downfall of Tyre is foretold; 28:20-23 tells of Sidon's coming punishment; 28:24-26 glimpses Israel's coming restoration; and 32 prophesies Egypt's downfall.

1 -- Ibid, p. 190.

and we have the same two years at the end.
 From the recent historical information of the
 period immediately preceding, we must have a good share
 of our background. There remains only one further
 assistance. To this period we assign certain events
 which we will now examine. The writer of this paper
 has no intention of considering the intricate details
 of these events. His only interest is this point,
 is to reconstruct the background out of which the 20th
 century came.

1. The first passage comes to us from Babylonian history
 which gives us much help in placing the
 work of Babylon in these cities.

2. The first passage comes to us from Babylonian history
 200 and the years immediately following. In chapter 25
 the destruction of Assur and the relationship between the
 two cities; from 25:1 to 25:19 the downfall of the city is
 described; 25:20-25:25 the fall of Assur's capital is mentioned;
 25:26-25:30 the fall of Assur's capital is mentioned; and 25:
 31-25:35 the fall of Assur's capital is mentioned.

In the 33rd chapter, Ezekiel tells of his own task; in 34, he gives us a bit of biography of Israel's past rulers; the next two foretell the restoration of Israel; 37 symbolizes the unification of Israel; the next section ¹ glimpses the coming judgment of God upon the heathen; and in 39:25-29, he retells his promise from God that Israel is still in His favor and will be restored.

b.) The second messages describe the restored Israel. From 40-43, Ezekiel tells the dimensions of the Temple and describes it for us; in 44-46, he lists the task and the offices of the Temple; and 47-48, he tells of the Temple and the Lord.

c.) The third section is the short message on Egypt ².

³
2.) Creelman also suggests that Jeremiah 43:8 to 44:30 was written in Egypt about 581 B. C. in which the prophet foretells Babylonia's conquest of Egypt, and also condemns the Jewish practice of idolatry while in Egypt.

⁴ ⁵
3.) Creelman dates the Holiness Code, the book of

1 -- Ezekiel 38:1 - 39:24.

2 -- Ezekiel 29:17-21.

3 -- Ibid, p. 191.

4 -- P. 193.

5 -- Leviticus 17-26, 560-550 B.C., cf. Leslie, Ibid, p. 111, 550 B.C.

In the third chapter, Ezekiel tells of his own
 task; in 34, he gives us a list of his duties as
 prophet; the next two chapters (35-36) the restoration of
 Israel; 37 symbolizes the restoration of Israel; the
 next section (38-39) the coming judgment of Gog whom
 the heathen; in 40-48, he tells of his practice
 from God that Israel is still in his favor and will be
 restored.

4. The second section describes the restored Israel.
 From 40-48, Ezekiel tells the dimensions of the Temple
 and describes it for us; in 44-46, he lists the tasks
 and the offices of the Temple; and 47-48, he tells of
 the Temple and the Lord.

5. The third section is the short section on Egypt.

6. Greenman also suggests that Jeremiah 45:1-5 to 46:30
 was written in Egypt about 581 B.C. in which the prophet
 Jeremiah's Babylonian's conquest of Egypt, and also contains
 the Jewish practice of idolatry while in Egypt.

7. Greenman notes the Holiness Code, the book of

Page 6

Lamentations¹, Baruch's biography of Jeremiah², the Song of Moses³, and the activity of the Deuteronomic compilers from this period.

4.) Kirkpatrick⁴, places Psalms 74 and 79 here; Creelman⁵ places Psalm 89 here; and Leslie⁶ adds Deutero-Isaiah.

5.) From 570-538 B. C. we can add to our list Isaiah 21, Isaiah 13:1 to 14:23; we can add to this list many valuable bits of literature too numerous to mention.

6.) The following are the lists of the psalms from 570-538 B.C.:
McCurdy: 22, 51, 69, 71, 84, 102.

Kirkpatrick: 68, 22, 94, 102, 74, 79, 89, 71, 77, 80, 139.

Briggs: 42-43, 63, 74, 77:1-15, 79, 81:5c-14, 82, 84, 88,
89, 90, 137, 142.

Creelman: 74, 79, 89, and possibly others.

2. The facts — Divisions of the Peoples.

This hurried view of historical and literary fragments from which and with which we reconstruct the period just before the dawn of the 5th century gives us a picture of the play just before the curtains are dropped for the

1 -- Creelman 580-550 B.C. cf. Leslie 586-570 B.C. for portions.

2 -- Jeremiah 26, 27-29, 34-44 in the main.

3 -- Deuteronomy 32:1-43.

4 -- Creelman, p. 193.

5 -- P. 194.

6 -- P. 111.

silent years. In this glimpse we see the Hebrews in three major groups. There is one little family in Babylon, another in Egypt, and some more of them still at home. Let us look more carefully into each settlement; for there can be little doubt of the fact that each group absorbed much of the foreign element into their existence and carried it back again to their homeland in the 6th and 5th centuries.

a. The Jews among the Chaldeans.

One might well suggest that those Jews who were exiled into Babylon were the fortunate group after all. It is a matter of common evidence that Babylon had become, under the rule of Nebuchadnezzar, the most beautiful and the most powerful city of the East. Its temples to the gods, Marduk and Bel, wide streets and "mountain-high" fortifications, palaces, gardens, and all the rest made a visit to its site an opportunity to be coveted. Isaiah 13:19 describes it as "the glory of the kingdoms", and Jeremiah 51:7 says: "Babylon hath been a golden cup in Jehovah's hand, that made all the earth drunken."

Needless to say, the Hebrews, fresh from their little, sheltered capital up there in the vine-clad hills of Judea where waters rushed madly to the sea, must have been mildly startled by all they saw. Further, it must

about years. In this passage we see the Hebrews in three
 major groups. There is one little family in Babylon,
 another in Egypt, and some more of them still at home.
 Let us look more carefully into each settlement; for there
 can be little doubt of the fact that each group reacted
 more or less differently from their situation and carried
 it back again to their homeland in the 6th and 5th centuries.

3. The Jews and the Babylonians

One might well wonder that those Jews who were
 exiled into Babylon were the fortunate group after all.
 It is a matter of common knowledge that Babylon had become
 under the rule of Nebuchadnezzar, the most beautiful and
 the most powerful city of the East. Its temples to the
 gods, Marduk and Bel, with statues and "monstrous"
 fortifications, palaces, gardens, and all the rest made a
 visit to the city an opportunity to be coveted. Jewish
 13:19 describes it as "the glory of the kingdom," and
 Jeremiah 51:7 says: "Babylon hath been a golden cup in
 Jehovah's hand, that made all the earth drunken."
 Needless to say, the Hebrews, freed from their
 little, shattered camped up there in the vine-dress hills
 of Judah where water rushed early to the sea, must have
 been wildly attracted to all they saw. Further, it was

have been a homesick handful of folk who journeyed from the quiet of the Palestinian hills to the rush and bustle of the huge Empire. We must remember that, of the three groups here to be discussed, these folk in Babylon were the only ones who moved under compulsion. Theirs was not a movement of choice like that of the pilgrims to Egypt. Besides that, this group of exiles did not all find the same destination. Some "were sold as slaves, some were lost to sight in the mazes of the huge city; others were scattered here and there over immense plains watered by endless canals, on the willow-clad banks of which ¹ they wept for Zion ²".

We know little about the condition of these Jews while they were in Babylon. If the book of Daniel, written about 167 B. C. ³ is a biography of a character among the exiles, we can gain a bit of information of the heights that some of the Jews achieved during the Babylonian and Persian periods. Likewise, from the sources which we listed above, some small details are related. However, in the former case we have come to believe, on good grounds, that the narrator of the life of Daniel was more interested in religious implications than

1 -- Ottley, R.L., A Short History of the Hebrews, p. 218.

2 -- Psalms 137;1.

3 -- Leslie, p. 113.

have been a honest handful of folk who journeyed from the outlet of the Palestinian hills to the town and back to the same hills. We must remember that, of the three groups here to be discussed, these folk in Babylon were the only ones who moved under compulsion. There was not a movement of choice like that of the others to Egypt. Besides that, this group of exiles did not all find the same destination. Some "were sold as slaves, some were lost to sight in the mazes of the huge city; others were scattered here and there over the waste plains watered by crooked canals, on the vil-
lages of which they went for food."

We know little about the condition of these Jews while they were in Babylon. If the book of Isaiah, written about 187 B. C., is a biography of a character among the exiles, we can gain a bit of information of the hardships that some of the Jews achieved during the Babylonian and Persian periods. However, from the sources which we have, some small details are re-
lated. However, in the former case we have seen to be-
lieve, on good grounds, that the character of the life of Daniel was more interested in religious questions than

1 - Isaiah 40:1-11
2 - Isaiah 41:1-16
3 - Isaiah 42:1-7

Page 9

in strict historical data. Thus in most cases the references only permit us to draw inferences which may or may not be true. In like manner we can observe the later Jewish life and form a few more conclusions in regard to the customs and habits that these exiles took back home with them.

Of course, the condition of Daniel and his immediate friends was unusual. The mass of the people did not enjoy such esteem in the minds of the court class. "On the whole, their condition was outwardly peaceful and fairly prosperous.....They acquired lands and houses; their sons and daughters married; they lived in separate communities and were apparently allowed to maintain to some extent the social customs and organizations of their native land".¹

These people suffered more mentally, probably, than physically. They were troubled over their religion. Here they were, exiled from their homes after an honest attempt at reform under Josiah. Here they were, in a strange land, in the midst of heathen peoples who worshipped other gods and were successful. Jehovah not only had let them be exiled, but they were far away from Him and saw no immediate chance to return. Moreover,

¹ -- Ottley, p. 221.

in other historical data. True in most cases the references only detail us to new information which may or may not be true. In like manner we can observe the Jewish life and have a few more connections in regard to the customs and habits that these exiles took back home with them.

Of course, the condition of Jewish and his immediate friends was unusual. The name of the people did not enjoy such status in the ranks of the great nations. For the whole, their condition was certainly peaceful and fairly prosperous. . . . They occupied lands and houses; their sons and daughters married; they lived in separate communities and were apparently allowed to maintain to some extent the social customs and organizations of their native lands.

These people suffered more materially, probably, than physically. They were troubled over their religion. Here they were, exiled from their homes after an honest attempt at reform under Jewish. Here they were, in a strange land, in the midst of heathen peoples and religions other gods and were nevertheless, Jewish and only had to be exiled, but they were far away from Him and saw no immediate chance to return. Moreover,

the faithful few were beset by problems within their own nationality. Many of the exiles had accepted Babylonian gods and business methods and taunted their fellows for holding to the ancient faith. All in all the devout exiles were beset by many and devious trials and tribulations.

In this environment and under these handicaps, Ezekiel labored. We will consider his work in detail shortly. Just now we want to see only his pastoral work. In the latter part of his book he is sketching an ideal community hallowed by the presence of God's sanctuary. At first this did not satisfy because the Temple was many miles away. Gradually, a new custom prevailed. The exiles met on the banks of the canals where services were held. Out of this experience came the Synagogue, a blessing to future generations. Furthermore, we find a good deal of literary activity among the exiles, the details of which we shall soon see. Suffice it to say, since this is merely an introduction, that the Babylonian Jews gained much in their captivity.

b. The Jews among the Egyptians.

To get a true picture of this group we should remember that they left from fear. In the 9th year of

The faithful few were beset by prophets of their own
 nationality. Many of the exiles had accepted Babylonian
 gods and business methods and taught their fellows for
 nothing to the same extent. All in all the devout
 exiles were beset by many and diverse false and trifling
 notions.

In this environment and under these handicaps,
 Ezekiel labored. He will consider his work in detail
 shortly. Just now we want to see only his pastoral work.
 In the latter part of his book he is speaking of an ideal
 community believed by the exiles to be the presence of God's sanctuary.
 At first this did not satisfy because the Temple was
 many miles away. Gradually, a new notion prevailed. The
 exiles sat on the banks of the canal where sacrifices were
 held. Out of this expectation came the Synagogue, a
 place for future generations. Furthermore, we find a
 good deal of literary activity among the exiles, the re-
 sults of which we shall soon see. Finally it is to say,
 since this is merely an introduction, that the Babylonian
 Jews gained much in their captivity.

The Jews were in Babylon
 for a time of about 70 years we should
 remember that they left from there. In the 5th year of

Page 11

his reign, Zedekiah broke his treaty with the Babylonians and revolted. He expected aid from the King of Egypt, but this was not forthcoming, and he¹ went down to ignominious defeat before Nebuchadnezzar . It was after this revolt that Jerusalem was destroyed, and the second captivity² took place. Ottley describes those who were left in Jerusalem as "the miserable remnant". Over them Gedaliah was made governor. Within two months he was murdered by Ishmael, a member of the royal family. The citizens were terrified. They feared another wholesale massacre at the hands of the King of Babylon. So they fled into Egypt. Apparently, Jeremiah disapproved of this move, but they went; Jeremiah with them. Many of them settled at Tahpanhes from which point we see the last of the great prophet. It is even supposed that he met a martyr's death among his own people. Beyond this brief statement we know little except as we glance into the Elephantine Papyri, and speak of the Temple.

Besides the group at Tahpankes there are records giving us the story of a Jewish colony at Syene where they³ had a temple to Yahu as early as 525 B. C.

- 1 -- for further details see Driver, Authority & Archeology,
2 -- p. 216. p. 117.
3 -- Snyder, Ed. H., Israel's Debt to Egypt.

his return, Nebuchadnezzar broke his treaty with the Babylonians and revolted. He expected aid from the King of Egypt, but this was not forthcoming, and he went down to fight his glorious defeat before Jehonadab. It was after this revolt that Jerusalem was destroyed, and the second captivity took place. Fifty thousand Jews were left in Jerusalem as "the miserable remnant". Over them Gedaliah was made governor. Within two months he was murdered by Ishmael, a member of the royal family. The city was then fortified. They feared another wholesale massacre at the hands of the King of Babylon. So they fled into Egypt. Apparently, Jeremiah accompanied them, but they went; Jerusalem with them. Many of them settled at Taphnech, the place which we see the last of the great prophets. It is even supposed that he met a martyr's death among his own people. Beyond this little statement we know little exact as to whence into the wilderness Egypt, and speak of the Temple.

Realized the ground of Taphnech there are records giving us the story of a Jewish colony at Taphnech where they had a temple to Yahweh as early as 525 B. C.

1 -- for further details see Jeremiah & Ezekiel
 2 -- Jeremiah 41:17
 3 -- Jeremiah 41:18

c. The Jews in Palestine.

We will turn next to those who remained in Judah. It would appear that these people did little to improve their status; for they made little or no effort either to rebuild the walls or the temple. That does not mean, however, that there was no worship, for, to the Jews, the sacred and the secular life was practically one and the same. The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics¹ suggests that there probably was an agreement with Samaria in which the use of the temple at Bethel was open for the Hebrews in Judah. The Aaronite priests here were those who held the same views of the prophetic school which drew up the J. document. This combination is further suggested for we find the J. and E. documents combined in the Pentateuch. Further than that, the writer of Ezra 4 must have held the same belief. We can further suggest this possibility from the arguments of logic. Surely, the mere fact any centralization and union of this almost nationally extinct people would be enough to urge that practice. There are disadvantages in such an idea, though, for any one sanctuary would be a great distance from the homes of some of the Jews, wherever they might live. Opposition probably increased

1 -- Hastings, James, Encyclopedia of Rel. & Ethics, p 450.

We will turn next to those who remained in
 Judah. It would appear that these people did little to
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 not seem, however, that there was no worship, for, in
 the Jews, the sacred and the secular life was organically

one and the same. The prophetic spirit of Nathan and
 others suggests that there probably was an agreement
 with Samaria to which the use of the temple at Bethel
 was open for the Hebrews in Judah. The historical picture
 here was that the king held the same view of the domestic
 school which drew up the 2. document. This conclusion
 is further supported for we find the 1. and 2. documents

contained in the Pentateuch. Further that the
 writer of Ezra 4 must have held the same belief. We
 can further suggest this possibility from the statements
 of Josiah. Surely, the more that any centralization and
 union of this almost nationally extinct people would be
 enough to cause that practice. There are disadvantages
 in such an idea, though, for any one country would be
 a great distance from the house of God of the Jews.

However they might live. Consequently probably increased
 1 - Jerusalem, Israel, 1900-1910, p. 100.

as reports and rumors filtered through from the exiles telling of their newly formed local synagogues. Then again, a new prophetic element was coming in under Jeremiah which called for a cessation of animal sacrifice and a complete halt in the sacrifice of the first-born child. It was this group, too, who received the legal code in the book of Deuteronomy. It must have been a hard task to teach this new code of ethics and law, especially the new decalogue, to a people so steeped in Mosaism as these. Yet it apparently did succeed for we find that Shechem¹ accepted the code and made possible a united Israel. This was probably completed before the appointment of Zerubbabel as governor, and the return of some of the exiles.

B. Prophetic Activity During the Period.

1. Jeremiah.

We have already made mention of this prophet who survived the two trips into exile only to finally choose voluntary exile into Egypt. Here is the story of another misunderstood prophet whose visions came true. He, like, Ezekiel, was of priestly descent. His first public appearance came in the 13th year of the reign of

¹ -- Deuteronomy 27.

as reported and rumors filtered through the allies
telling of their newly formed total syntheses. Then
again, a new prophetic element was coming in under
Jehovah which called for a cessation of animal sacri-
fices and a complete halt in the sacrifice of the first-
born child. It was this group, too, who received the
legal code in the book of Deuteronomy. It must have
been a hard task to teach this new code of ethics and
law, especially the new Decalogue, to a people so attached
to their gods as these. Yet it apparently did succeed for
we find that Jehovah accepted the code and made possible
a united Israel. This was probably completed before the
appointment of Samuel as governor, and the return of
some of the allies.

8. Prophetic activity during the period.

I. Jehonadab.

We have already made mention of this prophet
who survived the fall of the kingdom only to finally
choose voluntary exile into Egypt. Here is the story of
another unrecorded prophet whose vision came true.
He, like Elisha, was of priestly descent. His first
public appearance came in the 18th year of the reign of

¹
Josiah and just prior to the finding of the Book of Law. He lived in those troublesome times of exile, promise, revolt, and destruction. He spoke of the nation's sin and the coming judgment from God through the aid of an earthly foe. At first he calls for repentance and thence gives advice to safety, for the doom was coming. It must have hurt the great man to make that change. He was deeply emotional and visionary at the same time. More than that, he was continually tried by persecutions and the like even when doing the Lord's commands. Yet he does not hesitate to do his duty until "by his conception of the 'new covenant',² he surpasses in spirituality and profundity of insight every other prophet of the Old Testament."³

2. Ezekiel.

This introduction would hardly be complete without some cognizance being taken of the warrior for right and truth who had been taken to Babylon at the time of the first exile. Unlike Deutero-Isaiah, we know much of the life of this prophet. He was the son of Buzi and a priest of the aristocracy of Jerusalem. He lived in

1 -- Jeremiah 1:2; 25:3.

2 -- Jeremiah 31:31-34.

3 -- Driver, S.R., Literature of the O. T., p. 275.

Jesus and just prior to the lifting of the veil of his
 He lived in these tremendous times of exile, distress,
 revolt, and destruction. He spoke of the nation's sin
 and the coming judgment from God through the aid of an
 earthly son. At first he called for repentance and then
 gave advice to act, for the hour was come. It must
 have been the great man to make this change. He was
 deeply emotional and visionary at the same time. More
 than that, he was continually tried by persecution and
 the life even when doing the Lord's commands. Yet he
 does not hesitate to do the very thing "by his connection
 of the 'new covenant', he witnesses in witnessfulness and
 probability of insight every other aspect of the old
 Testament."

2. Testimony

This introduction would hardly be complete with-
 out some knowledge being taken of the writer for right
 and truth who has been taken to Babylon at the time of
 the first exile. Unlike Constantine, we have much of
 the life of this prophet. He was the son of David and
 a student of the prophecy of Jeremiah. He lived in

- 1 - Isaiah 1:1-2:12
- 2 - Isaiah 2:13-3:12
- 3 - Isaiah 3:13-4:12

his own house¹ on the banks of the river, Chebar². Here was a man who could move the crowds. He could see what was going to happen, and, though at times his pictures are vague to us, his own enthusiasm forces the vision upon us.

Israel's chief sin is idolatry which she practiced in Egypt and in the wilderness and in the Promised Land and, even now in the exile. Jehovah won't stand³ for that. Ezekiel's work is divided into three parts : (1) the approaching fall of Jerusalem, to which he gives the first twenty-four chapters, (2) the prophecies concerning foreign nations, to which he gives the next eight chapters, and (3) the future restoration of Israel.

3. Deutero-Isaiah --- 540 B. C.⁴

Hidden within the present book of Isaiah⁵ lies the work of some great unnamed prophet. Since this is still a part of our introduction, we shall not attempt to prove the thesis here in any detail. Most authorities agree on the passages that we shall assign to the exiled prophet whom we do not know by name. The most logical

1 -- Ezekiel 3:24; 8:1; 12:3f.

2 -- Ezekiel 3:15.

3 -- Driver, S.R., Literature of the O.T., p. 279.

4 -- Leslie, McFadyen, Approach to the O.T., p. 230.

5 -- Isaiah 40:55.

His own house on the banks of the river, Ghabat. Here
 was a man who could move the clouds. He could see what
 was going to happen, and, though at times his visions
 are vague to us, his own enthusiasm forces the vision
 upon us.

Tarnai's chief aim is to illustrate which the prac-
 ticed in Egypt and in the wilderness and in the Promised
 Land and, even now in the exile. Jehovah won't stand
 for that. Ezekiel's work is divided into three parts:
 (1) the prophetic fall of Jerusalem, to which he gives
 the first twenty-four chapters, (2) the prophecies con-
 cerning foreign nations, to which he gives the next
 eight chapters, and (3) the future restoration of Israel.

3. Tarnai's chief aim is to illustrate which the prac-

Hidden within the present book of Tarnai lies
 the work of some great unnamed prophet. Since this is
 still a part of our introduction, we shall not attempt
 to prove the details here in any detail. Most authorities
 agree on the messages that we shall assign to the exile
 prophet whom we do not know by name. The most logical

- 1 -- Ezekiel 1:1-2:35
- 2 -- Ezekiel 3:1-24:26
- 3 -- Ezekiel 25:1-32:31
- 4 -- Ezekiel 33:1-39:27
- 5 -- Ezekiel 40:1-48:35

reason for their decision lies in the general fact that most folk write about the day in which they live -- especially the prophets. If that is true, we can well assign this prophecy to the period just described in the history of the exile. As a bit of evidence, we find that Jerusalem and the cities of Judah are destroyed; the Temple is demolished;¹ the people are in Babylon² which is a doomed empire because she is both too conceited and too heartless to long exist as a world power.³ Beyond that we find that Cyrus is twice mentioned by name⁴, and the author prophesies that he will be the ruler to free Israel, permitting the exiles⁵ to return home⁶ and rebuild their sacred city.

The first prophecy is found in Chapters 40 to 48 and assures the exiles that they will soon be free. Isaiah II is sure that Cyrus is Jehovah's assistant in this task. From this point, the prophet idealizes the mission of Israel, in naming the Israelites to teach the world true religion.⁷ The remainder deals with Jehovah

1-- Isaiah 44:26 ff.

2 -- Isaiah 48:20.

3 -- Isaiah 46:6.

4 -- Isaiah 44:28 and 45:1.

5 -- Isaiah 45:13.

6 -- Isaiah 44:28.

7 -- Isaiah 48:6.

reason for their decision. It is in the general fact that
most folk have chosen the way in which they live -- es-
pecially the Americans. It is not to be denied, as we will
see, that this tendency to the world that is described in
the history of the exile, as a bit of evidence, as
that that Jerusalem and the office of Jewish are dis-
tinguished; the Temple is destroyed; the people are in
Babylon which is a chosen nation because she is both
too corrupted and too difficult to love exist as a
world power. Beyond that we find that Cyrus is twice
mentioned by name, and the author prophesies that he
will be the ruler of the Jews, permitting the exile
to return home and rebuild their sacred city.
The first prophecy is found in Chapter 20 to
be not accurate the exile that they will soon be free.
Indeed it is more that Cyrus is Jehovah's servant in
this task. From this point, the prophet's message the
mission of Israel, in giving the law to teach the
world true religion. The remainder deals with Jehovah

- 1 -- Isaiah 40:1-11
- 2 -- Isaiah 40:12-31
- 3 -- Isaiah 40:32-55
- 4 -- Isaiah 41:1-10
- 5 -- Isaiah 41:11-29
- 6 -- Isaiah 42:1-17
- 7 -- Isaiah 42:18-49

and his relation to idols which is further developed in chapter 48 and following. His main interest in this sections seems to be that the people shall get themselves ready morally to hear Jehovah's call. He introduces again the ideal servant and describes him vividly in chapters 49 and 50:4-9, etc. In the last part of this prophecy, we find the most advanced thinking to date. We see the servant of Jehovah suffering for other's sins as well as his own. He concludes with another call to repentance and acceptance of the better way¹. In this prophet we seek and find a good deal of the inspiration which could not help but make an impression upon the exiles of the 6th century and thus upon the reunited people of the 5th².

4. Haggai.

This prophet comes into our picture about sixteen or eighteen years after the return of Zerubbabel (Sheshbazzar)³. In these years no effort has been made,

- 1 -- Driver, S.R., Introduction to the Literature of the O. T., p. 230ff, & Driver, S.R., Isaiah: His Life and Times, Part II chapters 3 to 5 are fine for discussion of Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah as one section. Consideration of this stand will be given later.
- 2 -- Levy, Reuben, Deutero-Isaiah, p. 26.
- 3 -- Bennett, W.H., The Rel. of the Post-Exilic Prophets
Kent, C.F., History of Jewish People, p.14lff./// Ch. 6.
Driver, S.R., L. O. T., p. 343ff.
Smith, H.P., O. T. History, p. 349ff.
Ottoley, R.L., Short History of the Hebrews, p. 23lff.

or, at least, no effort has been successful, in rebuilding the temple. This inaction, apparently, was the cause of much Divine displeasure; for crops were poor, and the people suffered generally. Then came the feast of the new moon, and with it the appeal of Haggai to postpone no longer the building of the temple. His is not the silver tongue of an orator, but he seems to have had the facts and the enthusiasm to gain action. He touched their hearts, and they began to build within a month ¹. His second message was as practical as the first. Some of the older folk remembered the days of the Old Temple and were disappointed with the new one. The prophet assures them that this new temple will have Gentile gifts to beautify it and will surpass the Solomonian Temple in the blessing of peace bestowed upon it ². His third message to the people must have come at a slack time in the building, for he assures them that as long as the Temple remains uncompleted the people remain unclean. Simultaneous with this advice to the people, is the assurance to Zerubbabel that he will gain much for this contribution to Jehovah. This prophet is simple and goes right to the point. The 5th century owes much to this man, who, with

1 -- Kent, p. 141 and Driver, p. 343.

2 -- Driver, p. 343.

on, at least, an effort has been made to establish
the female. This function, apparently, was the cause of
such divine displeasure; for even now, and the
people suffer generally. When came the time of the
new moon, and also at the request of Robert to postpone
no longer the building of the temple. His is not the
silver tongue of an orator, but he seems to have had the
facts and the enthusiasm to gain action. He touched their
hearts, and they began to build within a month. His
second message was as practical as the first. Some of
the older folk remember the days of the Old Temple and
were disappointed with the new one. The original message
then that this new temple will have God's gifts to
beauty it and will surpass the Solomonian Temple in the
display of power bestowed upon it. His third message
to the people must have been of a different kind in the
building, for he assured them that as long as the temple
remains undisturbed the people remain unharmed. Still
connected with this matter to the people, in the connection
to Jerusalem that he will gain much for this contribution
to Jerusalem. This promise is simple and easy to the
people. The 5th century was such an era, with

1 - Text as printed in the Bible
2 - Revised, 1885

his colleague, Zechariah, laid the practical foundations out of the disappointment of the 6th.

5. Zechariah 1-8.

Here is the last of the great personages we shall consider in our introduction. He was a contemporary of Haggai, at least, so far as we are able to tell. There are here and there rumors of additions and fittings which would change the general historical and chronological date — some even suggesting that the prophecy dated before the exile¹. Most authorities, however, hold to the traditional view that this prophet came on to the scene during the work of Haggai. He assures the people that, though former prophets, leaders, and hopes have passed away, Yahweh still exists, and His word is abiding. Going farther he broadens the visions of his listeners by describing the bounds of the New Jerusalem.

C. The Close of the 6th Century and Its Heritage to the 5th.

Here we have seen roughly the work of the five greatest leaders just prior to our century. Jeremiah had held the fort in Jerusalem and had probably died a martyr's death with the Exiles in Egypt, not failing, to leave with them much of good, as we shall see. Ezekiel 1 -- Driver, p. 348.

his collection, however, held the statistical features out of the development of the film.

3. Statistical Features

Here is the last of the great categories we shall consider in our introduction. He was a contemporary of Huxley, at least, so far as we are able to tell. There are here and there traces of additional and different which

would change the general historical and chronological data — some even suggesting that the primary data before the film. Most authorities, however, hold to the traditional view that this prophet came on to the scene during the work of Huxley. He assumes the people that, though former prophets, legends, and hopes have passed away, yet he still exists, and his work is ongoing. Going further he presents the vision of his future by describing the bounds of the New Jerusalem.

4. The Vision of the Future and the Future in the Film

Here we have seen roughly the work of the film. Great features that bring to our attention, however, had held the work to Jerusalem and had probably died a martyr's death with the tribes in Egypt, not failing, so leave with this much of good, as we shall see. Finally

Page 20

and Second Isaiah had maintained the faith and the hope of the Jews in Babylon. And finally, Haggai and Zechariah preserved the zeal that was well on the way to extinction — fanning the spark into the fire of action until the altar was built, the foundation was laid, and the temple was dedicated.

If this century left no other heritage to the succeeding ones, it did leave a reorganized religion in the years that followed the return.

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If this century left no other heritage to the

succeeding ages, it still leaves a reorganized religion in

the years that followed the return.

II. The History of the Fifth Century B. C.

A. External History of the Period.

1. Persia.

As the fifth century opens, Darius I is on the throne of Persia. He ascended the throne in 521 in a series of moves so typical of ancient government. Gaumata had tricked Cambyses and gained the powerful throne in the year before. Like many such characters, he did not last long. His treachery was discovered, and Darius, who apparently had been with Cambyses in Egypt, put him to death. At once he claimed the throne by tracing his ancestry to Archaemenes and the royal line. That was good, but not enough. He had come to rule "in a dangerous hour"¹, and had to fight to hold his power. His rule is marked with much of the barbarism which was absent from the reign of Cyrus. He won his battles and mutilated the men who rose in revolt against him. In rapid succession he won over Gaumata, Atrina, Nidintu-Bel, Fravartich (phraortes), Martiya, Citrantakhma, Vabyazdata, Arakha, Froda, and Skunkha. We have the records of these events for Darius had his story carved on a mountain side,

1 -- Rogers, R.W., A History of Ancient Persia, p. 89.

1. The first of these is the fact that the
 A. The second is the fact that the
 2. The third is the fact that the
 As the fifth century opened, Britain was on the
 verge of war. He succeeded the throne in 501 in a
 series of wars on behalf of ancient government.
 Genseric had killed Genseric and gained the powerful
 throne of the year before. Like many such characters,
 he did not last long. His treasury was discovered, and
 Britain, who apparently had been with Genseric in Egypt,
 put him to death. At once he claimed the throne by
 forcing his ancestry to disavow him and the royal line.
 That was good, but not enough. He had done so well in
 a dangerous hour, and now he had to fight to hold the power.
 His rule is marked with much of the barbarism which was
 absent from the reign of Genseric. He won his battles and
 mutilated the men who rose to revolt against him. In
 rapid succession he won over Genseric, Attila, and the
 Franks (Goths), Huns, and the other tribes of the
 North, Franks, and Goths. He had the reputation of being
 even for Britain had his story carved on a mountain side.
 3. The fourth is the fact that the

on the main trade route, sixty-five miles from Hamadan ¹.

His next move was a conquest of Egypt. With all this empire, he must have a method of government. Cyrus' system of viceroys had failed because of the power each ruler had. Thus, Darius inaugurated the satrap system. Here the King was the head with absolute power. Under him were some score of more satraps ruling the smaller provinces of the empire. Of these satrapies, ² Herodotus lists an unnamed one fifth which included Palestine, Phoenicia, and the island of Cyprus. The duties of the satrap were primarily that of collecting the taxes ³, but this was not all, for he was also the general manager of the province. He was the supreme judge of his group and could negotiate with other leaders. Here was too much power without control so the great King either sent out his royal family or married his daughters to some suitable man.

As our century opens, Darius is planning a conquest of Greece. The land battle was successful, if not a great event, but the water conquest failed utterly. In 491, Persian heralds began to get the Ionian's small neighbors, who had been their friends, to turn Persian

1 -- Ibid, p. 96.

2 -- III, 31.

3 -- 350 talents from number 5.

in their support. This done, they met the Greeks at Marathon, the result of which is known in all history. Still, Darius would not give up, and, in 487, he was ready to attack again, planning to put down a revolt in Egypt on the way. This excursion was never made, for Darius died in 485, the "greatest Oriental ruler from then until now".¹

Artobozanes was Darius' eldest son, but Xerxes was the first son born after Darius ascended the throne. Thus to him fell the lot of King in 485. His name in Hebrew is Ahasuerus.² He was thirty-five years of age and admired by his people. He had problems at once in the revolt of Egypt and the Grecian campaign left unfinished by his father. The first he began in 486. He then put down a revolt in Babylon, and began his plans for Greece. In 480, the troops began to move. They won several battles but were turned back at Salamis which was the beginning of ultimate defeat. By 478, there were no more Persians in Greece. In 464, he was murdered by Artabanus. His career had been moderately successful. He had kept the empire together even if he had not been

1 -- Rogers, p. 139.

2 -- See Ezra 4:6 and Esther --- note: We may use this fact to date the book of Esther later.

3 -- Rogers, p. 145.

in their pursuit. This year, they met at a place as
 Heston, the result of which is known in his history.
 Still, Heston would not give up, and in 187, he was
 ready to attack again, planning to put down a revolt
 in Egypt on the way. This expedition was never made,
 for Heston died in 188, the "Greatest Oriental ruler
 from then until now".

Archimedes was Heston's eldest son, but Heston
 was the first son after Heston's second wife. Heston
 took to his father the job of King in 189. His name in
 history is Archimedes. He was in the fifth year of his
 and assisted by his mother. He had a number of sons in
 the revolt of Heston and the Greek emperor left up-
 finished by his father. The first he began in 189. He
 then set down a revolt in Heston, and began his reign
 in Greece. In 190, the troops began to move. They won
 several battles but were turned back at Salamis which
 was the beginning of ultimate defeat. By 191, there were
 no more Persians in Greece. In 192, he was captured by
 Archimedes. He captured had been miserably unsuccessful.
 He had sent the entire treasury even if he had not been

1 -- The first of the Persians in Greece was the
 2 -- The first of the Persians in Greece was the
 3 -- The first of the Persians in Greece was the
 4 -- The first of the Persians in Greece was the

able to win more land. In his later years the power and the wealth of the Empire was too much for him.

We do not know what became of the murderer, Artabanus. ¹ Rogers suggests that some scholars place him on the throne for some seven months, but, if this is so, it must have been as a masquerade, for he had no right to the throne as Xerxes had at least three sons.

The eldest two of these were born while their father was not yet King so Artaxerxes I (Longimanus) became legal ruler. His surname, Longimanus, or long hand, was given him because his right hand was longer ² than his left. If he had been a peaceful governor, the Persian Empire might have recovered from her exhaustion within the court itself caused by Xerxes' many intrigues to build him a harem. But Artaxerxes was not that man. Then he had to put down uprisings in his provinces. The first was from his brother, Hystaspes, who was put down after two bloody battles in 462 B. C. The second came from Egypt, in the treachery of Inaros, ³ son of Psammetichus. At the first conflict Persia won, but before the traitor was completely routed, the

1 -- P. 172.

2 -- Plutarch, Lives, Artaxerxes I.

3 -- See Section on Elephantine Papyri.

able to win some land. In his later years the power and

the wealth of the Empire was too much for him.

We do not know what became of the remainder.

Arabs suggest that some noble place

him on the throne for some seven years, but, if this

is so, it must have been as a monarch, for he had no

right to the throne as Keturah had at least three sons.

The eldest two of these were born while their

father was not yet King as Keturah I (Keturah) had

come later. His sons, Keturah, or Keturah,

and, who lived his because his right hand was injured

that his left. If he had been a successful governor,

the Persian Empire might have recovered from her ex-

haustion within the next half century by Keturah's

interference to put a new king. But Keturah was not

that man. Then he had to wait some months in his

province. The first was the first brother, Keturah,

who was put down after two bloody battles in 525 B. C.

The second was the first, in the territory of Keturah.

son of Keturah. At the first Keturah's son,

but before the battle was completely fought, the

1. The first brother, Keturah, was put down after two bloody battles in 525 B. C.
2. The second brother, Keturah, was put down after two bloody battles in 525 B. C.
3. The third brother, Keturah, was put down after two bloody battles in 525 B. C.

Athenians sent two-hundred ships against the Persian host. This aroused Artaxerxes and, in 465, he left Persia for Egypt. This army conquered Egypt and could have taken Greece if Darius had been at its head.

During this reign Herodotus, the Great Eastern Historian, visited Egypt as far as Elephantine and tells us the land was as well governed as it was under many princes in the earlier days.

In Babylonia there still were, among his subjects, many Jews, who had not taken advantage of Cyrus' permission to return. In fact, those who did return at that time, says Rogers ¹, were the religious fanatics and a few whose financial success was not so good.

Those who remained were about equally divided among those who were successful in business ², and those who were deeply concerned with the faith of Israel and were busy gathering and codifying law and custom ³.

It was under Artaxerxes I that Nehemiah gained permission to return and raise the walls of Jerusalem. We wonder why the Jews gained so much consideration. We

1 -- P. 178.

2 -- We have found records of many of these --- see H. V. Hiprecht and A. T. Clay, Business Documents of Murashu Sons of Nippur.

3 -- Among these was, probably, Ezra who, with some of them, returned to Jerusalem in 397.

At present, the two hundred and thirty thousand Jews of the Diaspora are scattered all over the world. In 1948, the Jewish Agency for Israel, which was founded in 1946, had a budget of \$100 million. This was a very small sum for a country which had just been founded. The Jewish Agency for Israel was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations. It was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations. It was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations.

During the first years of the Jewish Agency for Israel, the Jewish Agency for Israel was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations. It was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations. It was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations. It was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations. It was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations.

In the early days, the Jewish Agency for Israel was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations. It was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations. It was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations. It was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations. It was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations.

Those who remained were about equally divided. Some were who were successful in business, and those who were deeply concerned with the Jewish Agency for Israel. It was under these conditions that the Jewish Agency for Israel was founded. It was under these conditions that the Jewish Agency for Israel was founded. It was under these conditions that the Jewish Agency for Israel was founded. It was under these conditions that the Jewish Agency for Israel was founded. It was under these conditions that the Jewish Agency for Israel was founded.

1 - The Jewish Agency for Israel was founded in 1946. It was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations. It was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations. It was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations. It was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations. It was the only organization which was recognized by the United Nations.

are inclined to surmise that Persian power was slipping, and, in a desperate attempt to hold what was left, they tried to keep peace by making concessions to conquered peoples. Persia still held Egypt, but Greece was fast becoming a power to be feared upon the Mediterranean. "The vast empire which men of genius had founded, extended, and solidified was filled with cracks, and the signs of its ruin were many ¹. Artaxerxes was unfitted by nature and by the life he had lived to sway the sceptre of mightier men, and his own end was soon to come." He died in 424.

Immediately upon his father's death, Xerxes II came to the throne. There was naught for him but disaster. How long he reigned we do not know, but we do know that his brother, Vahuka, took the field against him and won through clever strategy. He then took the throne as Darius II ².

Here, too, comes into our line of vision that group of Hebrews which were settlers at Elephantine and Assuan. In our discussion of the Elephantine Papyri, we shall consider the theories of their arrival. Suffice it

1 -- Rogers, p. 190.

2 -- 485 B. C. --- He only ruled for a few days --- in fact he hardly could be called a ruler.

are inclined to believe that British power was sufficient
and, in a desperate attempt to hold what was left, they
tried to keep order by making concessions to the rebels.
British. But this still held Egypt, but Greece was fast
becoming a power to be feared upon the Mediterranean.
"The vast empire which men of genius had founded, ex-
tended, and cultivated was filled with cracks, and the
edges of the ruin were every day. At present was united
by nature and by the life he had lived to every the
acceptance of Egyptian men, and his own and was soon to
come." He died in 1834.

Immediately upon the death of Ismail, Khedive II
came to the throne. There was no doubt for him but his
father. How long he reigned we do not know, but we do
know that his brother, Vahid, took the field against
him and won through clever strategy. He then took the
throne as Ismail II.

Here, too, came into our line of vision that
group of Hebrews which were settled at Elephantine and
Assuan. In our discovery of the Elephantine Papyri, we
shall consider the theories of their arrival. But for the

I am sure, the only thing that we can say is that
the Hebrews were settled in Egypt in the time of the
Ptolemies.

to say that they were Jews and had built a temple to their God. They were not liked by the Egyptians because they were foreigners and because they were Persian subjects with special favors. All was well as long as the Satrap was there to protect them, but when Arsames left for the court of Darius II the Egyptians destroyed the Jews' temple¹. More details of this event and the life of the Jews in Egypt will be told immediately and in the last part of the next section. Shall we return to Persia again for a moment to see the fall of the colorless Darius II? He had made a passive success in holding the Empire together, but his greatest failure of all was the annihilated army that tried to conquer the mountain folks in the upper Tigris. This failure left Darius with a broken heart and broken health. His last problem was his successor. His oldest son was not eligible, but Darius knew he would claim the throne. In 408 the younger son, Cyrus, was made Satrap of Lydia and began immediately to plan for succeeding his father. Darius died in 404 B. C. He had made no real contribution to the already tottering Empire, leaving it weaker than he found it.

1 -- In 411 B. C. --- cf. Rogers, p. 197.

to say that they were Jews and had built a temple to
 their God. They were not liked by the Egyptians be-
 cause they were foreigners and because they were better
 acquainted with magical powers. All was well as long as
 the Goshites were there to protect them, but when Sennu-
 left for the court of Darius II the Egyptians destroyed
 the Jews' temple. More details of this event and the
 life of the Jews in Egypt will be told immediately and
 in the last part of the next section. Shall we return
 to Peter's again for a moment to see the fall of the
 colorless Darius II? He had made a decisive success in
 holding the empire together, but his greatest failure
 of all was the annihilated army that tried to conquer
 the mountain folk in the west. This failure
 left Darius with a broken heart and broken health. His
 last brother was his successor. His object now was not
 military, but Darius knew he would claim the throne.
 In 404 B.C. the younger son, Cyrus, was made Satrap of Lydia
 and began immediately to plan for ousting his father.
 Darius died in 404 B.C. He had made no real contribution
 to the already tottering Empire, leaving it weaker than
 he found it.

Arsikas, not Cyrus, ascended the throne while Cyrus returned to his satrapy in Lydia. We shall stop our history here without the unnecessary relating of revolt after revolt which gradually tore the great Persian Empire apart. In 401, Cyrus tried to win the throne through rebellion but was killed near the close of the fifth century.

2. Egypt.

It is almost impossible to tell the story of Persia, as we have just done, without overlapping the contemporary story of Egypt.

In 572, there was a prolonged conflict between the Egyptians and the Greeks which reached the ears of Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon. He immediately set forth to conquer Egypt. We do not know how far he went or how much success he had, but it would appear that Amasis II went on ruling in the twenty-sixth Dynasty, and his son reigned for six months to 528 B. C.

The legend is told that Cambyes of Persia asked for the daughter of Amasis II and got the daughter of Apries, Nitetis, instead. This aroused the anger of the Persian Chief and began his invasion of Egypt. This
1 -- Budge, E. A. Wallis, Egypt, p. 32.

Amasis, not Cyrus, succeeded the throne while
 Cyrus returned to his native land. We shall also
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 asked for the daughter of Amasis II and not the daughter
 of Artaxerxes, instead. This crossed the anger of
 the Persian king and began his invasion of Egypt. This
 I -- Egypt, E. A. Wallis Budge, p. 23.

took place in 527 and was a fight to the finish, with the Persians winning.

For six years Cambyses ruled in Egypt, then Darius I came to Egypt in 517 B. C. and about that time or earlier, by a few years, the Nile was connected by canal with the Red Sea.

Xerxes came into control here in 486 or 485 and he, too, had a revolt to put down which had started under Khabbesha and lasted about a year. He conscripted troops from the Egyptians to aid in keeping the Empire together for the twenty years he ruled. Others followed, as we noted just above, but Darius I seems to be the only one who was really interested in the welfare of the Egyptians. He made friends among the priesthood and the people as well.

Thus, briefly, we leave Egypt, which, after all, is not a power among the nations in the fifth century. We shall see her again as we consider the Elephantine Papyri.

B. Internal History.

1. The Dark Period (516 - 485).

The temple of which we spoke previously was

took place in 1871 and was a fight to the finish, with the

British winning.

For six years Campbell ruled in Egypt, then

Barine I came to Egypt in 1875, and about that time

or earlier, by a few years, the Nile was connected by

canal with the Red Sea.

Kerens came into contact here in 1885 or 1886

and he, too, had a revolt to put down which had started

under Frenchmen and lasted about a year. He corresponded

throughout the Egyptian revolution to his friends in London

together for the twenty years he ruled. There followed

as we noted just above, but Barine I never left the

only one who was really interested in the welfare of the

revolution. He made friends among the aristocracy and the

people as well.

Then, briefly, we leave Egypt, which, after all,

is not a power among the nations in the fifth century. We

shall see her again as we consider the Hellenistic Egypt.

B. Political History.

In the next part (1818 - 1871)

The temple of which we spoke previously was

completed in the sixth year of Darius, 516 B. C.¹ After this, it would seem that the history of the Jews is a blank page for nearly three decades. It was a period crowded with great events. From Persia came armies in all directions as the Napoleon of the Orient (Darius) striving to extend his rule over all Europe. He strove to annex Greece to his fast growing provinces, but failed, and after the disastrous defeat at Marathon in 490, Egypt² revolted, and Darius died.

All of this made its mark on world history but effected the Jews little. The most that can be said of them was that Jerusalem had remained, for the thirty years from 516 - 485, unregarded and obscure. It was rather the internal policy of the Empire which effected the Jews. The satrapial system was inaugurated to hold and, at the same time, to protect the vast empire. The Satrap served in the capacity of governor and had as assistants, two appointed officials — a soldier, who commanded the garrison, and a civilian, as secretary. All three had equal authority, and each acted as a check, to the King, upon the other.

1 -- Kent, p. 151 & 153.

Hunter, P.H., After Exile, p. 214.

Leslie, E.A., Abingdon Bible Commentary, p. 112.

2 -- Kent places date of revolt in Egypt as 486 and Marathon earlier, p. 155.

1
After
completed in the 14th year of his reign, B.C. 1570. After
this, it would seem that the history of the Jews is a
blank page for nearly three centuries. It was a period
crowded with great events. From Persia came armies in
all directions as the Babylon of the Orient (Babylon)
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and after the disastrous defeat at Marathon in 490, Egypt
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effected the Jews little. The word that was said of
them was that Jerusalem had remained, for the thirty
years from 518 - 588, unharmed and secure. It was
rather the lateral policy of the Persians which effected
the Jews. The national system was translated to suit
and, at the same time, to protect the vast empire. The
Empire rested in the capacity of governor and law as
assistants, two appointed officials — a soldier, who
commanded the captain, and a civilian, as secretary. All
these had equal authority, and each acted as a check, so

the King, upon the other.
I — King, — 1571 A.D.
History, B.C. 1571 A.D.
1571 A.D. — 1571 A.D.
1571 A.D. — 1571 A.D.
1571 A.D. — 1571 A.D.

Syria, with other territory surrounding, formed one of these divisions of government with the seat, most probably, at Damascus. Although the colonies were forced to pay taxes, these requirements were not too stringent. Though they were forced to render service in the army, the folks at home led their normal existence. If they met these two requirements, and obeyed the orders of the local rulers, they were permitted to live, worship, and rule, in minor matters, as they pleased.

As long as Darius reigned at Susa and Zerubbabel ruled as Pekah in Jerusalem, all went well. What became of the latter, however, we do not know. In Zechariah 4:9, the last reference is made to him in a form of prophecy that "The hands of Zechariah have laid the foundation of the temple, his hands shall also finish it." No one seems to know, however, whether the prophecy came true or not.

¹
Hunter suggests that tradition has it that Zerubbabel returned to Babylon once more and died while there. It is also highly doubtful if he remained to see the completion of the temple; for his name is outstandingly missing from the story of the dedication. So it was, that the last of the old line of David to achieve fame or reputation faded

from the dusty pages of history.

Any number of things might have happened to his rule in Jerusalem. He might have been called to the throne of Darius on business and fallen ill while there. He might have been removed for helping the Jews too much. Perhaps he was forced to resign because of hostile feelings toward him in Jerusalem. Perhaps, he lost hope and gave up in despair. At any rate, the artist failed to finish the picture at this point. Thus the people which looked for great leadership from Zerubbabel were disappointed, and finally succumbed to the inevitable and gave up again the dream of a restored nation, though it was largely through his help that the Temple had been built.

Next to the finishing of this work, the heart of the Jews was bound up in the reconstruction to the walls of their beloved City. If that was not done, neither the temple nor the populace itself was safe. Until the death of Darius this was not permitted. When Xerxes mounted the throne¹, however, the cry went up again to build the walls. Of course, Samaria, a fortified town but a day's journey from Jerusalem and the seat of a higher official, opposed such a move, and the plea was rejected.

1 -- 485 B.C., cf. Leslie, E.A., Abingdon Commentary, p. 112.

from the busy scene of activity.

Any number of things might have happened to him.

This is the story. He might have been called to the
 throne of David or to the throne of his father.
 He might have been removed for being the Jew too much.
 Perhaps he was forced to accept because of his father's
 love for him in Jerusalem. Perhaps, he lost hope and
 gave up in despair. At any rate, the artist failed to
 finish the picture at this point. The two models which
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 of the Jews was bound to the restoration to the
 walls of their beloved City. If that was not done,
 neither the temple nor the kingdom itself was safe.
 Until the death of Herod the war was not permitted. Then
 Herod wanted the temple, however, the city was not
 again to build the walls. Of course, Herodias, a Jewish
 girl from a day's journey from Jerusalem and the
 rest of a higher official, opposed such a war, and the
 plan was rejected.

Shortly thereafter, the fears of the Jews found grounds as the site of Jerusalem was the scene of much of the violence of the Persian conquest of Egypt. Joel, in the 3rd chapter of his writings calls our attention to innocent Judea blood that was shed at the hand of Egypt and Edom. Even the Persians laid waste the land as they marched thru ¹.

It was in this Persian conquest that Babylon, arch-enemy of the Jews, was destroyed ². Thus, the Yahweh of the Jews was again greater than the Bel of the Babylonians.

If we are to accept the story of Joel as history, we find that the nation of our interest suffered more under this rule than under any condition in memory ³. After Zerubbabel, the rulers were, for the most part, foreigners...one after another of them who ate from the fat of the land while the Jews starved ⁴. In Nehemiah and Lamentations we find testimonials to the oppression and utter poverty of the people. For the next quarter of a century there is a gap in Jewish History.

1 -- Joel 1.

2 -- 539 B.C.---cf. Leslie, E.A., Abingdon Commentary, p. 111.

3 -- Joel 1.

4 -- Nehemiah 5:14, 15.

...the fact of the Jews found
...the side of Jerusalem was the scene of such
of the violence of the Persian conquest of Egypt. Now,
in the 3rd chapter of his witness before our attention
to innocent Jews blood that was shed at the hand of
Egypt and Rome. On the Persian side, the Jews
as they watched him.

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center-city of the Jews, was destroyed. Thus, the Jew-
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1 -- Daniel 1.
2 -- Daniel 2.
3 -- Daniel 3.
4 -- Daniel 4.
5 -- Daniel 5.
6 -- Daniel 6.
7 -- Daniel 7.
8 -- Daniel 8.
9 -- Daniel 9.
10 -- Daniel 10.
11 -- Daniel 11.
12 -- Daniel 12.

¹
Hunter suggests that the Book of Esther fills the gap here mentioned, at least, for the Jews who were out of the homeland. If we can accept this narration as history, if the events recorded were not written down too long after their occurrence, if the story is not a figment of someone's imagination — the picture which is given us emblazons a contrast with the good fortune of the exiled members of the race standing out in relief against the poverty and hopelessness of the Jews in the Promised Land.

However, such is unlikely, if not impossible — for not once in all the Book is Jerusalem mentioned, nor the Holy Land, nor is the home of Jehovah found upon its pages. Truly, this is naught but fable.

As we have said, with the loss of Zerubbabel all the Persian officials were foreigners. The only official to whom the Jews could turn was the High Priest. He belonged to the Zadokites and was the most prominent figure in the community. Gradually this group gained power until they regained all they had lost after the return of the exiles. From a secondary position in every field he now became chief of secular as well as religious matters — solving all the problems that were outside the jurisdiction of the Persian overlords.

¹ -- Vol. I, p. 237.

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the tale here mentioned, at least, for the Jews who were
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longed to the Zadokites and was the most prominent figure
in the community. Gradually this group gained power un-
til they retained all they had lost after the return of
the exiles. From a secondary position in every field he
now became chief of secular as well as religious matters
— solving all the problems that were outside the juris-
diction of the Persian overlords.

The High Priests were the aristocracy, and they were satisfied to remain that way. Realizing that, if they were to remain in position as a privileged class, something must be done to get their fellowmen out of the realm of slaves and paupers, they opened new roads of activity for them, the end of which far exceeded anyone's expectations. Sixty years had shown, quite vividly, that their "laissez faire" attitude was unsuccessful. Exclusiveness either between factions of Jews or between Jews and Gentiles based upon a moral plane when physical barriers could not be raised was useless.

¹ Ezra tells us of mixed marriages or marriages with non-Jews which, it would appear, were entered into deliberately as a policy approved by the highest authorities in the land. Ezra was not the only one ² who opposed the move, but the minority could only protest.

There is an interesting though at this point. ³ To state it let me quote verbatim: "Weak in numbers and in material resources, robbed of their liberties, impotent even for self-defense, they were feared by the very enemies who trampled on them, and respected by those

1 -- Chapter 9.

2 -- Chapter 9:4.

3 -- Hunter I, p. 257.

The High Priests were the aristocracy, and they were entitled to remain that way. Realizing that, if they were to remain in position as a privileged class, something must be done to get their fellowmen out of the realm of slaves and dependents, they conceived new plans of activity for them, the end of which far exceeded anyone's expectations. Sixty years had shown, quite vividly, that their "laissez faire" attitude was unsuccessful. Exclusiveness either between factions of Jews or between Jews and Gentiles based upon a moral plane when spiritual

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There is an interesting thought at this point. To state it in quite verbal form: "Weak in numbers and in material resources, robbed of their liberties, innocent even for self-defense, they were feared by the very enemies who trampled on them, and respected by those

1 -- Chapter 10
 2 -- Chapter 11
 3 -- Chapter 12

who insulted them. There were obvious reasons for the Jews seeking the alliance of the Gentiles, material advantages to be gained; but quite other motives must have actuated the Gentiles in courting alliance with the Jews."

Even the writer of Trito-Isaiah ¹ spoke out in favor of Gentile equality as long as they all worshipped the same Divine Creator and Protector. This solved the immediate and external political difficulties, but it was a partial good at best. "If Israel was to fulfill its high mission to the Gentile world, it must still, at this stage of its development, keep separate from the Gentile world.....The time had not yet come for breaking down the fence and admitting the Gentiles wholesale into" ² the Jewish faith. As yet, the Jews were not strong enough to hold the middle ground between the facts of the past and the dreams of the future. This new move could not help but lower the standards of the Hebrew people. It was here that the evils commenced which Malachi so fiercely condemned a few years later. An unenforced part of the law soon lowered the adherence to all law, and life began to skid with increased momentum down the grade of retrogression.

1 -- Isaiah 56:3, 6, 7,

2 -- Hunter I, p. 258 f.

who haunted them. There were obvious reasons for the
 Jews seeking the alliance of the Gentiles, whether ad-
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 enough to hold the middle ground between the Jews of
 the past and the masses of the future. This new era
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 people. It was here that the walls crumbled which
 Malachi so lately reinforced a few years later. An un-
 enforced part of the law soon lowered the standards to
 all Jew, and this began the end with increased momentum
 down the road of retrogression.

I - Jewish Code, p. 11.
 - Jewish Code, p. 11.

While these people were loosening their hold on the moral code they had developed in past centuries, the Jews, still in captivity, in the Empire were becoming more strict as the days went by. Many real developments in Judaism came from the exiles. The Sabbath day in its richer aspects came from the Babylonian Jews. Ezekiel ¹ says : "they shall keep my laws and my statutes in all mine assemblies; and they shall hallow my sabbaths." A yet later writer adds ² : "Blessed is the man who keepeth the Sabbath from profaning it." Not only was it of value in itself, but it was also a bond of union for the exiles. Every seventh day thus reminded the Jew quite forcibly of his ancestry. Intellectually also the Jews of Babylon surpassed their brothers. Forced to live with foreign cultures and in new environments, with the educated best of that world they could not help but gain much of intellectual development. It seems impossible, yet it is true, that the work of fusion which soldiers could not make with swords, which the prophets could not achieve with the "power of abstract ideas" ³, was accomplished by the Book of the Law ⁴. This was the only remaining ground upon

1 -- Ezekiel 44:24.

2 -- Isa. 56:2.

3 -- Hunter, p. 273.

4 -- Code of Ezekiel - 40-48 and the Holiness Code, Lev. 17-26 are meant. Reference in detail will be given at a later point in this paper.

While these people were possessing their hold on the world code they had developed in past centuries, the Jews, still in captivity, in the Temple were possessing more strict as the days went by. Many real developments in Judaism came from the exile. The Sabbath day in the latter exiles came from the Babylonian Jews. Jewish says: "They shall keep my laws and my statutes in all mine assemblies; and they shall hallow my sabbaths." A yet later writer adds: "Blessed is the man who keeps the Sabbath from profaning it." Not only was it of value to itself, but it was also a bond of union for the exiles. Every seventh day thus reminded the Jew of his country of his ancestry. It reflected also the laws of Babylon and his brother. Forced to live with foreigners and in new environments, with the changed past of that world they could not help but keep with of technical development. It seems incredible, yet it is true, that the work of reason which soldiers could not make with words, which the prophets could not achieve with the power of abstract ideas, was accomplished by the Book of the Law. This was the only remaining ground upon

- 1 -- Sabbath day
 - 2 -- Law
 - 3 -- Moses, at Sinai
 - 4 -- Code of Hammurabi
- ... and the ...

which disunited Jews could again stand united. The Law of Moses took the place of the cry of the prophets, and a group of Scribes or Sopherim take their place in the parade of history of Judaism. These men copied the law. Some of them went farther than to copy, and Jeremiah exposes the "lying stylus of the Sopherim."¹ They did not have an altar, but they had their manuscripts. They could not offer sacrifices, but they could read and teach.

At first, these men worked independently, then later, in groups or small communities with the same interest. Likewise, at first, the groups were interested mainly in getting the law before the people. Later, they began to teach it as an infallible code of life, solving all problems. From there it was but a simple step to the belief that law observance made the perfect life.

2. The Remainder of the Century (460 - 400 B. C.)

a. Biblical History.

1.) Malachi.

It was this Persian domination just described which chafed the Hebrew peoples. Once again Israel was forced to set her hopes on the future, and, in so doing,

¹ -- Jeremiah 8:8.

which described how people stand united. The law
of Moses took the place of the cry of the witness, and
a group of scholars or rabbis take their place in the
outside of history of Judaism. These men wrote the law,
some of them were rabbis, some were scribes, and Jewish ex-
posed the "living style of the rabbis". They did not
have an altar, but they had their own sacrifices. They
could not offer sacrifices, but they would read and teach.
At first, these men worked independently, then
later, in groups or small communities with the same in-
terest. Likewise, at first, the rabbis were scattered
mainly in settling the law before the people. Later, they
began to teach, to be an authority in the law, and to
all problems. From then it was not a matter of law to the
people that law was given to the people.

3. The Rabbis of the Century (400 - 500 A.D.)

a. Rabbinical History

i. Rabbinical

It was this Rabbinical Christianity just described
which called the Hebrew people. Once again, it was
forced to see the power of the rabbis, and, in so doing,

ii. Rabbinical

we see a flash of light play for a moment upon the condition and temper of the restored exiles in the little book of Malachi. Most authorities agree that Malachi means "my messenger" and is not the name of the prophet after all. H. P. Smith ¹ suggests that he did not sign his correct name because of the disrepute into which the prophets had fallen after the non-fulfillment of the hopes of Haggai and Zechariah. His was a voice but nothing more. What the voice said leads us to believe that we know what happened from the dedication of the Temple to the present time (460). Apparently the religious fervor, which developed as the temple was completed and worship took place again, did not last for any great length of time. Perhaps the death of Zerubbabel extinguished the last faint hopes of the revival of a United Israel. The loss of hope has its counterpart in the loss of faith — both in one's self and in one's God. When that happens, man degenerates. The community faced a crisis and failed to win the day. Gradually conditions must have become worse until all those customs which had been relegated to the past were again in vogue. Indeed, the lack of morality must have spread to the Temple itself, for we find the

1 -- Old Testament History, p. 360.

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 to win the day. Gradually conditions must have become
 worse until all those customs which had been rejected in
 the past were again in vogue. Indeed, the lack of morality
 must have proved to the Temple itself, for we find the

prophets crying out ¹ for someone to shut the doors of the temple.

It would seem to me that the decay of the people's faith in God and the ultimate triumph of good is the outstanding message of the prophet. In fact, he cries out in rebellious complaint to those who should be aiding these lost folk in the finding of God's will. Everything is wrong. Truly, everyone is "disappointed and ill at ease." ² Faith is gone; oppression is ever-present; old distinctions between the upper and lower classes have reappeared; maintenance of temple worship and the priesthood has become a burden of expense; the injunctions of the law are disobeyed; Sabbath observance is neglected; and there no longer remains any desire to keep Israel a distinct people with clear blood.

It is not at all surprising that a prophetic voice is heard, however, weakly, at this time. It seems that even the prophet has lost hope in the future. He sees the evils, and he sees the possible solution, but there seems little hope that his advice will be followed. Prophecy, apparently, "feels itself unable to cope adequately with the moral situation and is conscious of its

1 -- Malachi 1:10.

2 -- Montefiore, Hibbert Lectures, p. 295.

Chinese crying out for someone to end the horror of the
famine.

It would seem to me that the heart of the problem is
that in God and the ultimate triumph of good is the out-
standing message of the prophet. In fact, we have not
in traditional Christianity to those who are still
these lost in the vision of God's will. Everything
is wrong. Truly, everyone is "disappointed" and all at
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tinction between the lower and lower classes have re-
mained; maintenance of human dignity and the effort
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Prophetic, apparently, "thee I shall be unable to save ab-
solutely with the moral situation and the conditions of the

own decline."¹ We shall consider the book as literature later, since our interest here is mainly history.

2.) Ezra.

The dark period from the dedication of the Temple until the middle of the fifth century is certainly the most difficult handicap to this study, but it is far from the only problem confronting us. In fact, a lack of knowledge is not as misleading as false history or mistaken facts might be.

We no sooner get out of the darkness into the first rays of light than we find ourselves face to face with a new difficulty. When was Ezra's period? Did the work of this character precede or follow that of Nehemiah? The traditional view places Ezra first. In order to understand the situation, we shall advance that theory first in its age-old clothes and then set about to find our solution. The thesis is that Ezra came to Jerusalem from Babylon about 458 B. C. At this point, many authorities part company.² If we follow this group, we are led to the opinion that the hand that rocked his cradle rocked also the cradle of Judaism. "In Jewish tradition he figures as a second Moses." Hunter places Ezra in the very

1 -- McFadyen, Approach to the O. T., p. 234.

2 -- Hunter, A. E., ch. 15; Ottley, S. H. H., p. 235-7.
Driver, L. O. T., p. 540-554; Bennett, Rel. of P.E.P.,
p. 90 ff; Greelman, I. O. T., 257 ff, etc.

can be said. The small number of the book is interesting, since our interest here is mainly history.

2.7. *Time*

The dark period from the beginning of the Tenth until the end of the Fifth century is certainly the most difficult period to study, but it is far from the only one. In fact, a lack of knowledge is not an obstacle as far as history or other facts are concerned.

We no longer get out of the darkness into the first rays of light than we find ourselves face to face with a new difficulty. When was the period? Did the work of this century precede or follow that of the Ninth?

The traditional view places this later. In order to understand the situation, we shall advance that theory first in the age-old clothes and then set about to find our solution. The thesis is that the work of the Tenth century Babylon about 450 B. C. At this point, very authorities are not lacking. If we follow this group, we are led to the opinion that the work of the Tenth century preceded that of the Ninth. "In Jewish tradition the Tenth is a second Moses." Such a phrase is in the very

1. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 5, p. 104.
2. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 5, p. 104.
3. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 5, p. 104.
4. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 5, p. 104.

heart of the century that we are studying.

Ezra belonged by birth to the priesthood and to the highest branch, for he could trace his ancestry thru the High Priests to Aaron. That illustrious background was enough to give him fame and early the people called him "the Priest"¹. Even that was not his main task, and it was not long until folk spoke of him as "Ezra the Sopher". He it was who gave the most to the openings of a new era.

Then the word arrived in Babylon of the change of policy in Jerusalem. To many foreign Jews this made no difference — but to Ezra it was a mistake of the highest order. Ezra gets the credit for placing Jerusalem at the center of the new Judaism. He realized that success in the new venture depended upon a spiritual center, a holy city to which all eyes should turn. Thus, perhaps, came the great dream of teaching the law to ignorant Israel². Ezra not only knew the law — he also religiously kept it.

We do not know when he and his school of followers left for Jerusalem; but we can be almost certain that it was not in the reign of Xerxes, for his interests did not run toward permissions of that type. In

1 -- Ezra 7:11; 10:10; and Nehemiah 8:2.

2 -- Ezra 7:10.

heart of the century that we are studying.
 Ezra belonged by birth to the priesthood and to
 the highest branch, for he could trace his ancestry from
 the High Priests to Aaron. That illustrious background
 was enough to give him rank and early the people called
 him "the Priest". Even that was not his main task, and
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 Scribe". He it was who gave the most to the opening of
 a new era.

Then the word arrived in Babylon of the change
 of policy in Jerusalem. In many Jewish this was
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 Jerusalem, came the great dream of teaching the law to
 Israel. Ezra not only knew the law — he
 also religiously kept it.

We do not know when he and his school of
 followers left for Jerusalem; but we can be almost cer-
 tain that it was not in the reign of Xerxes, for his in-
 fluence did not run toward persecutions of that type. In

465, Artaxerxes ascended the throne with a good-natured, easy-going attitude. This amiability was perhaps approached by Ezra in search of royal favor. Artaxerxes accepted the Jews in his court which no doubt helped the Sopher's case along. In Ezra 7:11 ff we find what is supposed to be the copy of the permit the King gave Ezra ¹.

The King's sanction gained, there were three tasks left. Ezra needed men, money, and authority. All this he received; and "the novel feature of this edict of Artaxerxes was the position it assigned to a man of the Jewish race, the authority it gave him over his countrymen." ² He was not only to rule his own people as Chief Judge of Law, but also those beyond the river. Thus laden, he departed upon a mission of reform.

All seemed to be on Ezra's side until he arrived in Jerusalem and discovered that Artaxerxes was more powerful in Susa or Babylon than in Palestine. Then he also found that even Kings change their minds. He met adversity, which perhaps was well, as he changed his tactics and worked in far softer and more kindly methods than he previously had planned. He gathered his followers on the

1 -- I doubt the veracity of the permit, but there must have been one of some kind, since permission was given.

2 -- Hunter, p. 298.

1888, Antares was recorded as being with a foot-candle
 easy-going attitude. This quality was perhaps as-
 sociated by him in search of some form. Antares
 accepted the fact in his mind which he might believe the
 doctor's case alone. In fact, it is not until he
 succeeded to be the body of the spirit the king came to
 The King's assistant named, there were three
 tasks left. This needed money, and authority. All
 this he received; and this novel feature of this effort
 of Antares was the position it assumed to a man in
 the Jewish race, the authority it gave him over his
 countrymen. He was not only to rule his own people
 as Chief Judge of Law, but also to rule beyond the river.
 Thus laden, he departed upon a mission of reform.
 All seemed to be on the king's side until he ar-
 rived in Jerusalem and discovered that Antares was
 more powerful in Rome as Babylon than in Palestine. Then
 he also found that even King changed their mind. He set
 adversely, which means was well, as he changed his fac-
 tice and looked in the mirror and saw kindly methods than
 he previously had planned. He gathered his followers on the
 1 -- I want the identity of the people, but there was
 have been one of some kind, and some other one kind.
 2 -- There is a 222.

banks of the Ahava, an unknown stream, in March 459 ready for the pilgrimage. Three days ¹, Ezra spent in arranging the marching numbers. Purity of race was an absolute requirement. Including women and children there were probably from 6,000 to 8,000 people in this imposing cavalcade ². Surely, Ezra must have had a powerful hold on his countrymen with the exception of the Levites which he had to send for to make his group complete.

Finally, they departed after a fast and a pledge to God as well as a refusal to accept an armed guard. Eighty-eight years had elapsed since Zerubbabel had taken the first group home over this trail. The first group were sure of the coming age of Jehovah. The second were sure they had the only solution and remedy for the mess the first group had made.

The pilgrims, by necessity, travelled slowly over roundabout routes spending three and one-half months en route ³. Apparently the trip was not only a long one, but also arduous ⁴. Then they arrived at Jerusalem. Ezra's reputation had reached Jerusalem

1 -- Ezra 8:15.

2 -- Hunter, p. 306; cf. Bennett, p. 90 (2,000 men besides women & children); and cf. Ottley, p. 235 (1,600 men)

3 -- Ezra 7:9.

4 -- Ezra 8:31.

banks of the Abaya, an unknown stream, in March 1950, for the purpose of the Abaya. These days, there is no stream in the marshes. But of the fact that there was an abundance of water, including women and children there were probably from 5,000 to 10,000 people in this marsh. There were some people who had a powerful hold on his countrymen with the exception of the Levites, which he had to send for to make his group complete. Finally, they departed after a last and a blessing

to God as well as a refusal to accept an armed guard. Fifty-eight years had elapsed since Zarahed had taken the first group home over this trail. The first group were some of the coming out of the marsh. The second were some that had the only solution and ready for the time the first group had been.

The solution, by necessity, travelled slowly over roughabout routes consisting of one and one-half months or more. Apparently the time was not only a long one, but also a hard one. Then they arrived at Jerusalem. There is a tradition that Zarahed had been

1 -- From 1910
2 -- From 1910
3 -- From 1910
4 -- From 1910
5 -- From 1910

ahead of him, and he was the foremost man of his nation for the time being. The fourth day they presented their gifts to the Temple, after overruling the Zadokite priest, and then, for five months, the curtain remains down on the activities the Chronicler relates.

Doubtless, the work began at once of educating the people from the complete Torah, while Ezra felt out his way along the road of future reforms. The worst evil of all seemed to be the Gentile marriages and all of the contamination as regards blood, law, and religion they carried with them. But what was he to do about it? The law, itself, was not positive. The older law, the Deuteronomic code ¹, which had been the statute book of the second Temple, did not prohibit them and did not make them even practices to be discouraged ². Now Ezra brought the Priestly code ³ from Babylon with him, but Jerusalem did not yet know of it, so, its authority must be established before he could hand down decision upon its statements. The permission to do this certainly would not be forthcoming from the Zadokites, for the two groups were already at swords points. The only remaining method was followed by Ezra — he put the proposition before the

1 -- Deuteronomy 12 - 26, 28.

2 -- Deuteronomy 21:10-14.

3 -- Hunter II, p. 12, cf. Ottley, p. 236.

...of his, and he was the foremost man of his nation
for the time being. The course they presented their
advice to the Senate, after overruling the Executive order,
and then, on five votes, the Senate passed down on
the activities the Executive relates.
Consequently, the work began at once of educating
the people from the Executive order, while they felt out
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The law, itself, was not positive. The other law, the
Patriarchal code, which had been the statute book of
the second temple, did not prohibit them and did not make
them even practices to be discouraged. Now that brought
the Patriarchal code from Babylon with him, but Jerusalem
did not yet know of it, so, his authority must be estab-
lished before he could have down decision upon the statu-
ment. The determination as to this certainly would not be
forthcoming from the Patriarch, for the two groups were
already at odds on other points. The only remaining method was
followed by Peter -- he set the crucifixion before the

1 -- Jerusalem in 40 A.D.
2 -- Jerusalem in 70 A.D.
3 -- Jerusalem in 135 A.D.

people. It is an unusual scene which is pictured in Ezra 9 and 10. Though the method used is common enough even today, the whole-hearted sincerity was what won the day. In Ezra 10:5 we hear "all Israel" take the oath to cease this intermarrying and to send back these foreign wives and their children. Here, the High Priests gained a compromise. A National Assembly¹ was to be called by proclamation and render the final decision. Again Ezra won, and again the other side claimed a hearing. Even the presentation of the defense was in vain. The people had given their decision, and from the final court there was no appeal. Still unsatisfied, Ezra stood out for the immediate trial of all wrongdoers before the multitude, but here his own followers balked. That was not fair. The precedent was established; the individual cases could follow. The compromise plan established a special court with Ezra as president. It was to be a circuit court, meeting in the surrounding towns and villages. Both sides agreed and in ten days the work was under way. "All is not gold that glitters," however, and Ezra found much to make the going hard, so difficult, indeed, that the whole reform scheme was in danger of collapse. This was the first step of this era to make the Jews an isolated group.

1 -- Ezra 10:14 ff.

people. It is an unusual scene which is depicted in Acts 2 and 10. Through the method used is common enough even today, the whole-hearted sincerity was what was the case. In Acts 10:2 we have "all Israel" take the oath to observe this righteousness and to keep these things which were and shall continue. Here, the High Priestate joined a commonwealth, a National assembly, was to be called by proclamation and render the final decision. Again Acts 10, and again the other side claimed a hearing. Even the decision of the leaders was in vain. The people had given their decision, and from the final court there was no appeal. Still insisted, Acts stood out for the time. A trial of all witnesses before the court, but here the own followers failed. That was not fair. The precedent was established; the individual case could follow. The compromise now established a special court. It was as great as it was. It was a precedent, setting in the entire nation towns and villages. Both sides agreed and in the day the work was under way. "All is not sold that citizens," however, and Acts found much to write the story hard, so difficult, indeed, that the whole reform movement was in danger of collapse. This was the first step of this era to make the Jews an isolated group.

I -- Year 1000

"It was the first invocation of an authority which proclaimed itself the equal of the written Torah, and, in time, became its superior; the first imposition of that yoke of traditionalism which was never henceforth shaken off, which succeeding centuries weighted more heavily and bound on more firmly, and which sits to this day on the necks of the Jewish people."¹

Not only were the politicians opposed to this move, but also the last of the prophetic schools. They had seen the vision of a universal God, and this step could only be a backward one. So strong was the feeling, so Hunter says², that many wrote their opinions out in prose or poetry. Two of these have been preserved. Ruth, the gentle, loving, Gentile woman is made the heroine of the Old Testament's most beautiful love story. With a pastoral setting so common in Palestine, a bit of history, and a wealth of vivid imagination, the author seeks to win his point of universal toleration. What a powerful rebuke a simple tale may become.

Then, there is Jonah. It has the same purpose of warning and reproof, but it tells an entirely different story in a different way. Here is another allegory like

1 -- Hunter II, p. 39.

2 -- Hunter II, chapter 3.

It was the first investigation of an authority which was
 claimed itself the basis of the written Torah, and, in
 fact, beneath the surface, the first investigation of the
 very of the investigation which was never handled with
 off, which concerned the investigation watched more heavily and
 bound up more firmly, and which aims to this day of the
 needs of the Jewish people.

Not only were the investigations concerned to this
 move, but also the last of the prophetic schools. They
 had seen the vision of a universal God, and this step
 could only be a backward one. It struck the feeling,
 as Hunter says, "that every word their opinions are in
 order of history. Two of these have been answered. But,
 the result, however, Jewishness is made the basis of
 the Old Testament's most beautiful love story. With a
 restored setting as common in Judaism, a bit of his-
 tory, and a wealth of vivid imagination, the author seeks
 to his point of universal Judaism. What a power-
 ful result a simple tale may become.

Then, there is Jacob. It has the same purpose
 of writing and record, but it tells an entirely different
 story in a different way. Here is another allegory like

1 -- Hunter II, p. 107.
 2 -- Hunter II, p. 107.

Job, only less perfected, as the author tries to put too much into his tale. Jonah is Israel, entrusted with a great mission to the world. Jonah tries to escape the task and suffers for it. This is more powerful than the other tale, and, I imagine, that many folk were strongly moved by one or the other of them.

Despite criticism, suggestion, or appeal the work went on until in Ezra 10:17 he lists the work as done in simple, blunt language. Once again Hagar leaves the tents of Judah and takes Ishmael with her. No agony of remorse, no appeals for mercy, nothing could swerve the relentless Ezra from the path of cruelty that he thought was right. Once again the legalistic won against the human element in religion. In three months the court tried many of the high officials and laymen, then we lose sight of both the idea and Ezra himself.

The first moves of the adversaries had failed. The next was to write to the King and appeal for the removal of Ezra. We cannot be sure that any such protests went to Susa from Jerusalem, though Ewald in his History of Israel ¹ suggests that possibility. If someone did, it might well have been the officials of the neighboring tribes to whom the wives and children had been returned

1 -- Ewald, History of Israel, Vol. V, p. 107.

Job, only face departed, as the author tries to put Job
into his tale. Jacob is Israel, entrusted with a
great mission to the world. Jacob tries to secure the
land and efforts for it. This is very powerful than the
other tale, and, I think, that many folk will strongly
move by one or the other of them.

Despite criticism, suggestion, or appeal the
author went on until in Part 10;17 he wrote the words as
done in circles, that is, Jacob. Once again Jacob leaves
the land of Jacob and takes Israel with him. We know
of course, no reason for Jacob, nothing could ever
the Palestine. Jacob took the path of cruelty that he
thought was right. Once again the Jacobite was against
the house of Jacob in religion. In three scenes the court
trial many of the old officials and Jacob, then the loss
of both the idea and Jacob.

The first scene of the adventure had failed.
The next scene was in the King and opened for the re-
view of Part 10. The court was there that had such power
sent to Jacob from Jacob, then Jacob in his story
of Israel suggests that possibility. It seems odd, it
right well have been the officials of the nation
tried to when the wives and children had been returned
I -- Jacob, Israel, Vol. V, p. 107.

so rudely.

On all sides during the dozen or so years of silence, opposition and reaction must have set in, and finally even Ezra, himself, must have sometimes doubted his own policy. But he was a zealot and refused to compromise or admit his possible error. To save the situation, especially in its outside danger aspects, Ezra determined to wall Jerusalem¹. Jerusalem must have its gates shut against the Gentiles. Thus, again, Ezra jumps into the limelight of popular opinion.

But the plan was not to be of long standing. It seems that Megabyzus¹, the man who won for Artaxerxes the final great battle of the Egyptian rebellion, had succeeded by some means in annexing Syria as an independent state. Artaxerxes, after two attempts to conquer the rebel, gave in. This made a desperate situation for the followers of Ezra; for their whiplash of power had come from the Great King, and now his power "beyond the river" was gone. Almost immediately, the Samaritans took advantage of the situation and sent a clever letter to the King. We find it in Ezra 4:11-16. Strategy underlies every sentence of this manuscript and won its point with Artaxerxes; his answer forbade the completion of the walls. The Samaritans

¹ -- Hunter II, p. 94 ff.

no trouble.

On all other things the focus or center of all-

things, opposition and reaction must have been, and

finally even Mrs. Lincoln, what have ourselves doubted

his own policy. But he was a realist and refused to con-

template or admit his possible error. To save the situation,

especially in the outside danger aspects, Mrs. Lincoln

to help Lincoln. Lincoln must have his eyes shut

against the Gentiles. Thus, again, Mrs. Lincoln into the

interest of popular opinion.

But the plan was not to be of long standing. It

seems that Mrs. Lincoln, the man who won for Abraham the

final great battle of the Mexican rebellion, had succeeded

by some means in convincing Mrs. Lincoln as an independent state.

Afterwards, after two attempts to conquer the rebel, gave

in. This made a desperate situation for the followers of

Lincoln; for their wish of power had come from the Great

King, and now his power "beyond the river" was gone. Al-

most immediately, the Emancipation took advantage of the

situation and sent a clear letter to the King. He found

it in 1862-1863. Strangely underlies every sentence of

this manuscript and was its point with Abraham; his

answer forbade the completion of the work. The Emancipation

I - History II, p. 11.

did not hesitate in tearing down the walls and burning the gates.

Though they went no further in their destruction, they had not only done the task, but also almost completely ruined all of Ezra's prestige. His "power¹ and popularity fell with the walls of Jerusalem."

We cannot help but feel a bit of respect for Ezra after this event, despite his possible mistake. He might easily have returned to Babylon and regained his former reputation. But no — he remained and fought for the same principles with the same tenacity, despite the slow but sure reversal of his policy. "In this unfaltering confidence, during the months and years of activity arrested, and hope deferred, Ezra waited in Jerusalem till his day should come."²

Even those who place Ezra before Nehemiah realize that "some of the most complicated problems in Hebrew history as well as in literary criticism of the Old Testament gather about the books of Ezra and Nehemiah."³

Some scholars, like H. P. Smith⁴, arrive independently at a date which would put both Ezra and Nehemiah outside of our consideration.

1 -- Hunter II, p. 96.

2 -- Ibid, p. 98.

3 -- McFadyen, p. 332.

4 -- O. T. History, p. 382.

5 -- 385 B. C. ff.

His not hesitate in testing down the walls and ceiling

the paper.

Though they went as far as in their desire-

tion, they had not only done the best, but also almost

completely ruined all of Kato's questions. His answer

and completely fell with the walls of Jerusalem.

We cannot help but feel a bit of respect for

him after this event, though his possible mistake. He

might easily have returned to Babylon and remained his

former captives. But no -- he remained and fought for

the same principles with the same tenacity, despite the

also but sure reversal of his policy. "In this world-

fact, confidence, justice the earth and years of solis-

ity arrested, and were deterred. His will in Jerusalem

will his day again come."

Even those who place him before William's castle

that "none of the most complicated organs in human his-

try as well as in literature criticism of the Old Testa-

ment cannot about the books of the Old Testament."

Some scholars, like H. B. Geertz, arrive at the

heart of a state which would not have been and Babylon

outside of our consideration.

1 - Boston, U. S. G.

2 - Boston, U. S. G.

3 - Boston, U. S. G.

4 - Boston, U. S. G.

5 - Boston, U. S. G.

Despite a quite common agreement upon a date several years before Nehemiah, such is not all the evidence we possess. In fact, though we respect the scholarship behind such works as Ewald, Hunter, Ottley, Wade, McFadyen, and the like, we are moved to comment on the dearth of actual fact they present in this case or the arguments they bring forward. In truth, most of the authorities consulted in the section of this paper just past have based their case on the lone argument from tradition. Often, this is a stumbling block to real scholarship, and yet it is often resorted to in order to save criticism. In this instance we must consider the arguments of the opposition and then choose our ground.

There are seven original sources, or, at least, seven primary sources, from which we can glean information. In some cases the information can be classed as history¹ while others smack of editorial addition and comment.

The first source lies in those parts of the book of Ezra which seem to have been taken from some record of Ezra himself. We credit them to him because they are written in the first person. They are Ezra 7:27, 28 and 8:1-34². Oesterley further suggests about Ezra 7:1-10;

1 -- Oesterley, W.O.E., A. History of Israel, Vol. II, ch. 10.

2 -- Oesterley, p. 112.

Despite a public agreement to the contrary, several years before the war, such is not all the evidence we possess. In fact, though we possess the scholarly, this period was more or less, under, after, and the like, we are never to comment on the basis of actual fact they present in this case as the arguments they bring forward. In truth, most of the authorities concerned in the section of the paper just past have used their case on the issue of the first edition. Often, this is a stumbling block to real scholarship, and yet it is often resorted to in order to have criticism. In this instance we must consider the arguments of the opposition and then choose our ground.

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9:1-10:44; Nehemiah 7:73b-8:12, 13-18; 9 and possibly 10, that "In these the narrative is all about Ezra, and he is always spoken of in the third person; but the Chronicler's hand has been so busy that they must be used with caution."¹

The second source lies in the purported permission of Artaxerxes for Ezra and his group to return to Israel. It is found in Ezra 7:12-26. One wonders, as he reads this document, if it is authentic. Several points arouse our curiosity or our suspicion. In the first place, why should a powerful and successful King have taken so much interest in a group of his slaves whose home is in a far-off land? It is audacious to even think an Oriental ruler should show so much interest in his subjects, let alone his slaves.

But, even if we accepted the possibility of such an interest, the edict is too strong for wholehearted acceptance. To appoint a slave as governor of a province with power to rule and to put to death those who would not conform to his desires or religion is far too much for one to accept.

Further, how did a Persian King know so much of Jewish customs as to have at his tongue's end such phrases as "cult-personnel", "Nethinim", "freewill offerings",
1 -- Oesterley, p. 112.

8:1-10:44; Webster 7:73-8:12, 12-13; 9 and possibly 10. That in these the narrative is all about Peter, and he is always spoken of in the third person; but the Chronicler's hand has been so busy that they must be read with caution.

The second source lies in the narrated parties-

also of Alexander the Great and his army is known to Israel. It is found in Ezra 7:12-26. One would say, as he reads this document, it is authentic. Several points arouse our curiosity or our suspicion. In the first place, why should a powerful and successful king have taken so much interest in a group of his slaves whose home is in a far-off land? It is noticeable in every thing as if the writer should have as much interest in his subjects, let alone his slaves.

But, even if we accepted the possibility of such an interest, the edict is too strict for uneducated slaves. To appoint a slave as governor of a province with power to rule and to put to death those who would not conform to his desires or religion is far too much for one to accept.

Further, how did a Persian king know so much of Jewish customs as to have all his governors and high officers as "anti-persians", "Arabians", "Ethiopians", etc.

"meat offerings", and "drink offerings"? Then he was supposed to be familiar with the distinction between Priests and Levites, singers and porters, and so forth ¹. Perhaps there was such an edict, but we can go little further than the acceptance of the bare possibility of a permission to return.

The third group of passages can be classed as the Memoirs of Nehemiah. Here we find more apparently authentic information than in Ezra and some that helps us much in this problem. We shall include here Nehemiah 1:1-7:73a, 11:1-2, 13:4-31 and possibly 10 and 11:3-26. Chapters 12:27-47 and 13:1-3 appear to have come from the original source but probably were blue penciled by the compiling editor ².

From these very important passages we turn to the Temple Records. We find lists which might well have been copied from this source in Nehemiah 12:1-26; Ezra 4:6-23 and 5:1-6, 15. Josephus ³ tells us how carefully these records were kept, so they were probably available to the chronicler.

⁴
The "Greek Ezra" corrects many of the errors

1 -- Oesterley, p. 112.

2 -- Oesterley, p. 113.

3 -- "Against Apion", found in Whiston, Wm., The Works of Flavius Josephus, Vol. II, p. 404 ff.

4 -- I have not consulted this source.

"gentle" and "offensive" but he was supposed to be friendly with the distinction between friends and enemies, others and others, but so forth. Perhaps there was such an effect, but we can see little further than the evidence of the date possibility of a permission to return.

The third group of passages can be classed as the records of the records. There are three groups of authentic information that is extra and some that belong to such in this problem. We shall include here the records 1:1-7:7, 11:1-2, 15:4-5 and 15:5-25. Chapters 15:27-47 and 15:1-3 appear to have been from the original source but probably were later modified by the compiler editor.

From these very important passages we turn to the Talmudic records. We find lists which might have been copied from this source in Talmud 12:1-20; 2:1-4:25 and 5:1-5, 15. Questions arise as to whether these records were kept, or they were probably available to the compiler.

The "Greek" records, corrected many of the errors

- 1 - Chapter 1, 1:1-1:7
- 2 - Chapter 2, 2:1-2:7
- 3 - Chapter 3, 3:1-3:7
- 4 - Chapter 4, 4:1-4:7
- 5 - Chapter 5, 5:1-5:7
- 6 - Chapter 6, 6:1-6:7
- 7 - Chapter 7, 7:1-7:7
- 8 - Chapter 8, 8:1-8:7
- 9 - Chapter 9, 9:1-9:7
- 10 - Chapter 10, 10:1-10:7
- 11 - Chapter 11, 11:1-11:7
- 12 - Chapter 12, 12:1-12:7
- 13 - Chapter 13, 13:1-13:7
- 14 - Chapter 14, 14:1-14:7
- 15 - Chapter 15, 15:1-15:7
- 16 - Chapter 16, 16:1-16:7
- 17 - Chapter 17, 17:1-17:7
- 18 - Chapter 18, 18:1-18:7
- 19 - Chapter 19, 19:1-19:7
- 20 - Chapter 20, 20:1-20:7
- 21 - Chapter 21, 21:1-21:7
- 22 - Chapter 22, 22:1-22:7
- 23 - Chapter 23, 23:1-23:7
- 24 - Chapter 24, 24:1-24:7
- 25 - Chapter 25, 25:1-25:7
- 26 - Chapter 26, 26:1-26:7
- 27 - Chapter 27, 27:1-27:7
- 28 - Chapter 28, 28:1-28:7
- 29 - Chapter 29, 29:1-29:7
- 30 - Chapter 30, 30:1-30:7
- 31 - Chapter 31, 31:1-31:7
- 32 - Chapter 32, 32:1-32:7
- 33 - Chapter 33, 33:1-33:7
- 34 - Chapter 34, 34:1-34:7
- 35 - Chapter 35, 35:1-35:7
- 36 - Chapter 36, 36:1-36:7
- 37 - Chapter 37, 37:1-37:7
- 38 - Chapter 38, 38:1-38:7
- 39 - Chapter 39, 39:1-39:7
- 40 - Chapter 40, 40:1-40:7
- 41 - Chapter 41, 41:1-41:7
- 42 - Chapter 42, 42:1-42:7
- 43 - Chapter 43, 43:1-43:7
- 44 - Chapter 44, 44:1-44:7
- 45 - Chapter 45, 45:1-45:7
- 46 - Chapter 46, 46:1-46:7
- 47 - Chapter 47, 47:1-47:7
- 48 - Chapter 48, 48:1-48:7
- 49 - Chapter 49, 49:1-49:7
- 50 - Chapter 50, 50:1-50:7
- 51 - Chapter 51, 51:1-51:7
- 52 - Chapter 52, 52:1-52:7
- 53 - Chapter 53, 53:1-53:7
- 54 - Chapter 54, 54:1-54:7
- 55 - Chapter 55, 55:1-55:7
- 56 - Chapter 56, 56:1-56:7
- 57 - Chapter 57, 57:1-57:7
- 58 - Chapter 58, 58:1-58:7
- 59 - Chapter 59, 59:1-59:7
- 60 - Chapter 60, 60:1-60:7
- 61 - Chapter 61, 61:1-61:7
- 62 - Chapter 62, 62:1-62:7
- 63 - Chapter 63, 63:1-63:7
- 64 - Chapter 64, 64:1-64:7
- 65 - Chapter 65, 65:1-65:7
- 66 - Chapter 66, 66:1-66:7
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- 68 - Chapter 68, 68:1-68:7
- 69 - Chapter 69, 69:1-69:7
- 70 - Chapter 70, 70:1-70:7
- 71 - Chapter 71, 71:1-71:7
- 72 - Chapter 72, 72:1-72:7
- 73 - Chapter 73, 73:1-73:7
- 74 - Chapter 74, 74:1-74:7
- 75 - Chapter 75, 75:1-75:7
- 76 - Chapter 76, 76:1-76:7
- 77 - Chapter 77, 77:1-77:7
- 78 - Chapter 78, 78:1-78:7
- 79 - Chapter 79, 79:1-79:7
- 80 - Chapter 80, 80:1-80:7
- 81 - Chapter 81, 81:1-81:7
- 82 - Chapter 82, 82:1-82:7
- 83 - Chapter 83, 83:1-83:7
- 84 - Chapter 84, 84:1-84:7
- 85 - Chapter 85, 85:1-85:7
- 86 - Chapter 86, 86:1-86:7
- 87 - Chapter 87, 87:1-87:7
- 88 - Chapter 88, 88:1-88:7
- 89 - Chapter 89, 89:1-89:7
- 90 - Chapter 90, 90:1-90:7
- 91 - Chapter 91, 91:1-91:7
- 92 - Chapter 92, 92:1-92:7
- 93 - Chapter 93, 93:1-93:7
- 94 - Chapter 94, 94:1-94:7
- 95 - Chapter 95, 95:1-95:7
- 96 - Chapter 96, 96:1-96:7
- 97 - Chapter 97, 97:1-97:7
- 98 - Chapter 98, 98:1-98:7
- 99 - Chapter 99, 99:1-99:7
- 100 - Chapter 100, 100:1-100:7

of the Ezra Nehemiah ¹.

We gain much assistance likewise from the recently discovered Elephantine Papyri which will be mentioned in more detail in the last part of this paper.

The last section named is the work of Josephus ². This, however, gives us little authentic information beyond that which we find in the canon itself ³.

From these sources we can gain the history of the middle century, and they will also aid us in placing Ezra in our chronological table. As we have said, both the original chronicler and many authors advance the theory of Ezra's first arrival on the scene; there are strong arguments of a different nature.

⁴In the first place, Oesterley points out, if they were contemporaries, there must have been two governors over Israel at the same time and both in Jerusalem. Though that is possible, it is not very probable that such was the case. It is true that it has been suggested ⁵ that they worked together, but in some cases they took independent action which two men would not likely have done under such a dual government as is proposed.

1 -- Oesterley, p. 113 ff.

2 -- see bibliography.

3 -- Oesterley, p. 114.

4 -- Oesterley, p. 115.

5 -- (i.e. mixed marriages).

of the first edition.

We also must recognize the fact that the

cently discovered manuscript which will be

placed in some detail in the last part of this paper.

The last section named is the work of Johnson.

This, however, gives us little authentic information re-

2

gard to the work in the same field.

From these sources we can gain the history of

the middle century, and they will also aid us in placing

them in our chronological table. As we have said, both

the original chronicle and any authentic sources are

likely of Xmas's first arrival in the colony; there are

several statements of a different nature.

3

In the first place, Gentry points out, it

may be noted that there must have been two cover-

age over Israel at the same time and both in Jerusalem.

Though that is possible, it is not very probable that

such was the case. It is true that it has been suggested

that they worked together, but in some cases they took

independent action which we can well not think have

done under such a dual government as is proposed.

- 1 - Gentry, p. 115 ff.
- 2 - See Gentry, p. 115 ff.
- 3 - Gentry, p. 115 ff.
- 4 - Gentry, p. 115 ff.
- 5 - Gentry, p. 115 ff.

Again it is interesting to note that the very passages in which the cooperation is mentioned are the passages which bear all the ear marks of being editor's notes ¹. Nehemiah 8:9 tells of Nehemiah taking part in Ezra's reading of the Law. If Nehemiah did take part in this momentous ceremony, why did he never mention it in his memoirs? In the Greek Text, the name Nehemiah does not appear. In Nehemiah 10:1, it appears and again in 12:26, but both statements are challenged. And even if these three passages are accepted, there still remains the doubt based upon the fact that two men with the same goal, working at the same time, would surely have something to say about each other in their memoirs, instead of just three isolated statements.

Another stumbling block to the traditional view lies in the two descriptions of Jerusalem. When Nehemiah arrived he found ²: "the city was wide and large; but the people were few therein, and the houses were not builded." ³ When Ezra arrived he found a large multitude of people. If they were contemporaries, how could this take place? If Ezra came first, where did the people go before the arrival of Nehemiah? The logical answer, it

1 -- Oesterley, p. 115.

2 -- Nehemiah 7:4.

3 -- Ezra 10:1.

Again it is interesting to note that the very
 passage in which the cooperation is mentioned are the
 passages which bear all the hallmarks of being authentic
 notes. Nebelish B:8 tells of Nebelish taking part in
 Ezra's reading of the law. If Nebelish did take part in
 this momentous ceremony, why did he never mention it in
 his memoirs? In the Great Targ, the case Nebelish does
 not appear. In Nebelish B:8, it appears and again in
 B:10, but both statements are challenged. And even if
 these three passages are accepted, there still remains
 the doubt based upon the fact that two men with the
 same name, working at the same time, would surely have
 something to say about each other in their memoirs. In-
 stead of just three isolated statements.

Another stumbling block to the traditional

view lies in the two descriptions of Jerusalem. When
 Nebelish arrived he found: "the city was wide and large;
 but the people were few therein, and the houses were not
 builded." When Ezra arrived he found a large multitude
 of people. If they were contemporaries, how could this
 have happened? If Ezra came first, where did the people go
 before the arrival of Nebelish? The logical answer, it

1 -- Ezra arrived in 458.
 2 -- Nebelish B:8.
 3 -- Ezra B:10.

would seem, that Nehemiah came about a generation before Ezra. Another small but conclusive argument is found in Ezra 9:9 where he states that the walls are built, and again in 4:12 the walls are finished. Further, Nehemiah 3:1 calls Eliashib the High Priest, while Ezra ¹ lived during the time of Jehohanan, the son of Eliashib ².

This last evidence is further used, when in ³ the first and second Elephantine Papyri, we find the date of Jehohanan of Jerusalem as 408.

Thus, the Artaxerxes of Nehemiah's day was Artaxerxes I who rules from 464-424 B. C., while Ezra came under the order of Artaxerxes II who ruled from 404-359 B. C. Using these figures, we compute Ezra's date as 397 B. C. — three years beyond the end of the fifth century. We are sorry to lose him, but we shall consider him again, briefly, toward the close of the thesis.

In support of this stand we have taken we have Oesterley, of course. Then we are corroborated by Dr. ⁴ Leslie in the Chronology of the Old Testament ⁵. Barton ⁶ dates the coming of Ezra as 398 B. C. Peritz states

1 -- Ezra 10:6.

2 -- Oesterley, p. 117, suggests "grandson".

3 -- Oesterley, p. 117.

4 -- Abingdon Bible Commentary, p. 112.

5 -- P. 339.

6 -- P. 260.

would seem, that Nehemiah came about a generation before
Ezra. Another well but conclusive argument is found in
Ezra 6:19 where he states that the walls are built, and
in 6:12 the walls are finished. Nehemiah, therefore,
built the walls of the city, while Ezra lived.
During the time of Nehemiah, the son of Hachabai,
some last evidence is further given, when in
the first and second chapters of Nehemiah, we find the
date of Nehemiah at Jerusalem as 408.
Then, the Attorneys of Nehemiah's day are
named I who lived from 408-404 B. C., while Ezra came
under the order of Attorneys II who lived from 404-399
B. C. After these figures, we compute Ezra's date as
399 B. C. — three years beyond the end of the fifth
century. We are sorry to hear this, but we still con-
sider his date, briefly, correct, the date of the temple.
In support of this stand we have shown we have
conclusively, of course. Then we are corroborated by the
facts in the chronology of the Old Testament. Then
before the coming of Ezra as 408 B. C. Ezra's date

- 1 — Ezra 1:1
- 2 — Nehemiah 1:1
- 3 — Nehemiah 2:1
- 4 — Nehemiah 3:1
- 5 — Nehemiah 4:1
- 6 — Nehemiah 5:1
- 7 — Nehemiah 6:1
- 8 — Nehemiah 7:1
- 9 — Nehemiah 8:1
- 10 — Nehemiah 9:1
- 11 — Nehemiah 10:1
- 12 — Nehemiah 11:1
- 13 — Nehemiah 12:1
- 14 — Nehemiah 13:1
- 15 — Nehemiah 14:1
- 16 — Nehemiah 15:1
- 17 — Nehemiah 16:1
- 18 — Nehemiah 17:1
- 19 — Nehemiah 18:1
- 20 — Nehemiah 19:1
- 21 — Nehemiah 20:1
- 22 — Nehemiah 21:1
- 23 — Nehemiah 22:1
- 24 — Nehemiah 23:1
- 25 — Nehemiah 24:1
- 26 — Nehemiah 25:1
- 27 — Nehemiah 26:1
- 28 — Nehemiah 27:1
- 29 — Nehemiah 28:1
- 30 — Nehemiah 29:1
- 31 — Nehemiah 30:1
- 32 — Nehemiah 31:1
- 33 — Nehemiah 32:1
- 34 — Nehemiah 33:1
- 35 — Nehemiah 34:1
- 36 — Nehemiah 35:1
- 37 — Nehemiah 36:1
- 38 — Nehemiah 37:1
- 39 — Nehemiah 38:1
- 40 — Nehemiah 39:1
- 41 — Nehemiah 40:1
- 42 — Nehemiah 41:1
- 43 — Nehemiah 42:1
- 44 — Nehemiah 43:1
- 45 — Nehemiah 44:1
- 46 — Nehemiah 45:1
- 47 — Nehemiah 46:1
- 48 — Nehemiah 47:1
- 49 — Nehemiah 48:1
- 50 — Nehemiah 49:1
- 51 — Nehemiah 50:1
- 52 — Nehemiah 51:1
- 53 — Nehemiah 52:1
- 54 — Nehemiah 53:1
- 55 — Nehemiah 54:1
- 56 — Nehemiah 55:1
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- 58 — Nehemiah 57:1
- 59 — Nehemiah 58:1
- 60 — Nehemiah 59:1
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- 62 — Nehemiah 61:1
- 63 — Nehemiah 62:1
- 64 — Nehemiah 63:1
- 65 — Nehemiah 64:1
- 66 — Nehemiah 65:1
- 67 — Nehemiah 66:1
- 68 — Nehemiah 67:1
- 69 — Nehemiah 68:1
- 70 — Nehemiah 69:1
- 71 — Nehemiah 70:1
- 72 — Nehemiah 71:1
- 73 — Nehemiah 72:1
- 74 — Nehemiah 73:1
- 75 — Nehemiah 74:1
- 76 — Nehemiah 75:1
- 77 — Nehemiah 76:1
- 78 — Nehemiah 77:1
- 79 — Nehemiah 78:1
- 80 — Nehemiah 79:1
- 81 — Nehemiah 80:1
- 82 — Nehemiah 81:1
- 83 — Nehemiah 82:1
- 84 — Nehemiah 83:1
- 85 — Nehemiah 84:1
- 86 — Nehemiah 85:1
- 87 — Nehemiah 86:1
- 88 — Nehemiah 87:1
- 89 — Nehemiah 88:1
- 90 — Nehemiah 89:1
- 91 — Nehemiah 90:1
- 92 — Nehemiah 91:1
- 93 — Nehemiah 92:1
- 94 — Nehemiah 93:1
- 95 — Nehemiah 94:1
- 96 — Nehemiah 95:1
- 97 — Nehemiah 96:1
- 98 — Nehemiah 97:1
- 99 — Nehemiah 98:1
- 100 — Nehemiah 99:1
- 101 — Nehemiah 100:1

the case as follows: "In the Chronicler's view..... Ezra appears first on the scene, and is also the last to disappear. But on a critical examination of the data it appears that this prominence of the priest over the laymen is due to the manner in which the material itself has been arranged, and that it is contrary to indications which the material itself furnishes and to historic probability." He dates Ezra ¹ as 397 B. C. Kent ² tells us that those who hold to the date of 458 are forced to list the expedition as a failure. He further says the earlier date is "not only highly improbably, but practically impossible". He then substantiates most of the evidence presented already in this paper. It would appear that we should close the gap and consider that Nehemiah is the second character to appear on the stage of the fifth century following immediately upon the steps of Malachi. To him we turn.

3.) Nehemiah.

In 444 or 445 B. C., another character ascended the bright trail of the stars and again the pages turn to a brighter and happier chapter of Jewish history. Nehemiah was born a Jew, but by environment he was a

1 -- Peritz, p. 262.

2 -- Kent, History of Jewish People, "Babylonian, Persian and Greek Periods", p. 197.

The case is followed: "In the chronological view...
 This appears first in the records, and is also the last in
 the case. But on a critical examination of the data it
 appears that the probability of the oldest over the last

was is due to the aspect in which the material itself

has been arranged, and that it is contrary to historical

which the material itself furnished and to historic prob-

ability." He does this as 1897 B. C. East tells us that

those who held to the date of 1850 are forced to list the

excavation as a failure. He further says the earliest date

is "not only highly improbable, but practically impossible."

He then substantiates most of the evidence presented al-

ready in this paper. It would appear that we should close

the paper and consider that Nebuchadnezzar is the second character

to appear on the scene of the fifth century following last-

ly after the scene of Nebuchadnezzar. To him we turn.

2. Nebuchadnezzar

In 1844 or 1845 B. C., another character appeared

the bright trail of the stars and again the pages turn

to a brighter and bolder character of Nebuchadnezzar.

Nebuchadnezzar was born a Jew, but by environment he was a

1 - Nebuchadnezzar, 1844 B. C.
 2 - Nebuchadnezzar, 1845 B. C.
 3 - Nebuchadnezzar, 1846 B. C.

Persian. No one knows how this man came to the court of the King. All we know is that in him we find another example of a Jew who, through perseverance, personality, and power, reached an enviable position in the court of the captive nation. His task was cupbearer, and his influence was great. We can be glad that the memoirs of his early history were preserved. In no other book of the Old Testament is the character of the author so clearly stamped as here. Surely it will always hold a unique position in Jewish history. Here is a man with every opportunity to develop his ego. Here is a situation of which a lesser man would have taken advantage for his own personal gain. Here were influences which would tend to make him frivolous and unreal, instead we find him natural, brave, and unselfish. "The King had¹ no trustier servant; Israel, no more devoted son."

Nehemiah is an example of what the exile did for many Jews and a portrait of the first layman who gave all he had to his nation and his church.

The first chapter of his story tells us of the coming of a group from Jerusalem to beg his aid. They arrived in the summer of 444 or 445 and told him their pitiful tale. In the East, one must always show a happy

¹ -- Hunter II, p. 102.

Perhaps, to one who has not been to the coast of
 the West. All we know is that in his first chapter ex-
 ample of a few who, through persistence, persistence,
 and power, reached an enviable position in the court of
 the captive nation. His task was unenviable, and the in-
 fluence was great. We can be glad that the results of
 his early history were successful. In no other book of
 the Old Testament is the character of the author so
 clearly exposed as here. Surely it will always hold a
 unique position in Jewish history. Here is a man with
 every opportunity to develop his ego. Here is a situa-
 tion of which a leader and would have taken advantage
 for his own personal gain. Here were influences which
 would lead to such a trivial and unprofitable, unprofitable
 kind of activity, trivial, and unprofitable. "The King had
 no greater enemy; himself, as some would say."
 Hezekiah is an example of what the exile did for many
 Jews and a portrait of the first Jew who came to be
 had to his nation and his church.
 The first chapter of his story tells us of the
 coming of a group from Jerusalem to his aid. They
 arrived in the summer of 444 or 445 and told him their
 painful tale. In the East, one must always show a happy

countenance before the court. For months, though brooding in silence, sorrowing in the privacy of his own room, he kept his secret to himself. Then, one day Artaxerxes saw for a second behind the mask of happiness and demanded an explanation. Despite a fear of the consequences ¹, he told his story. The plea for permission to leave, which followed the tale, was granted — with the reservation that Nehemiah should return after a certain period of time.

As soon as possible, he left for Jerusalem, carrying with him not only permission to rebuild the walls, but the governorship of Judah and many other concessions of value. He met opposition, but he was a man who knew men and could win them to his side. From three outside sources, at least, and from the inside came difficulties, but the master gentleman could cope with them all with patience, calmness, and resourcefulness.

His first stroke of genius came in his arrival. No one knew who he was for three days. Indeed, he completed his inspection of the walls by night that he might see what was to be done before he took anyone into his confidence.

Satisfied with his inspection he assumed his position as pekah without pomp or ceremony. Still he let time pass before bringing forward his proposal, while he

1 -- Nehemiah 2:1.

The first of these is the fact that the
the second is the fact that the
the third is the fact that the
the fourth is the fact that the
the fifth is the fact that the
the sixth is the fact that the
the seventh is the fact that the
the eighth is the fact that the
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the twenty-eighth is the fact that the
the twenty-ninth is the fact that the
the thirtieth is the fact that the
the thirty-first is the fact that the
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the thirty-sixth is the fact that the
the thirty-seventh is the fact that the
the thirty-eighth is the fact that the
the thirty-ninth is the fact that the
the fortieth is the fact that the
the forty-first is the fact that the
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the fifty-ninth is the fact that the
the sixtieth is the fact that the
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the seventy-sixth is the fact that the
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the seventy-eighth is the fact that the
the seventy-ninth is the fact that the
the eightieth is the fact that the
the eighty-first is the fact that the
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the eighty-seventh is the fact that the
the eighty-eighth is the fact that the
the eighty-ninth is the fact that the
the ninetieth is the fact that the
the ninety-first is the fact that the
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the ninety-fifth is the fact that the
the ninety-sixth is the fact that the
the ninety-seventh is the fact that the
the ninety-eighth is the fact that the
the ninety-ninth is the fact that the
the hundredth is the fact that the

studied the people with whom he was to deal. He won their respect and loyalty by ruling and keeping the promise that neither he nor his suite should cost the citizens a single shekel¹. Then, with an appeal of national pride he sold to them the proposition of rebuilding the walls. Now the plan was out, outside and inside opposition would arise, speed was at a premium. Hired labor was out of the question. Further the wall must all be built at once and of equal strength. To do this the leader divided the wall area in sections and assigned each section to a group to build. Each was thus bound in honor and patriotism not to let his work get behind any other. Each group had their task to do which would ever stand not only as a protection to the city but also a monument to itself.

The North Wind brings taunts and jeers from the Gentiles. Undaunted and unafraid the work goes on. The governors of the North are surprised; they are angry, and they plan to unite and attack the workers. At first, Nehemiah relied on his mandate from the King. That failing, he took the sword to protect the half-finished wall. His very audacity put heart in his people, and, for the first time since the fall of the kingdom, they revived their

¹ -- Nehemiah 5:14 and 15.

and the people with whom he was to deal. He was their
 respect and loyalty by virtue and because the people that
 neither he nor his people could afford the slightest mistake
 should. Then, with an amount of patience which he could
 in the the possession of rebuilding the walls. Now the
 plan was not, a simple and direct description would give
 seemed not at a premium. First, there was one of the outer
 wall. Further the wall was to be built at once and of
 great strength. To do this the Jordan divided the wall
 in sections and assigned each section to a group of
 builders. Each was to be built in stone and masonry not
 to let the wall be behind any other. Each group had
 their task to do which would stand not only as a
 protection to the city but also a monument to itself.
 The North and South towers and gates from the
 outside. Undoubtedly and inevitably the work was on the
 government of the North and South; they are easy, and
 they plan to unite and attack the towers. At first,
 Herodias relied on his mandate from the King. But failing
 he took the sword to protect the half-destroyed wall. His
 very audacity but heart in his people, and, for the first
 time since the fall of the kingdom, they trusted their

warlike energy, put their backs to the wall and prepared to fight.

This was a new tactic for the Jews, and open battle was too near treason to the King to be palatable to the advancing hordes. So we find the danger past and the work being resumed, but under military orders. All men worked with their sword by their side, sentinels were posted by day and Nehemiah and his guards watched by night. It was a thrilling experience for these people, who for so long had been the doormat for surrounding tribes. Probably "the weeks of toil and peril did more to raise the character of the Jewish people than all the decades since the return from exile." ¹ National self-respect was returning, after so long smouldering. Trust in God and self-reliance had won a battle without bloodshed. What a lesson they learned!

Walls were not all Nehemiah built in those days. He built men; he built a nation; and then they came to him with their social question, told the story of the injustices of class wealth and distinction — they wanted bread, and their story was as old as time, and the truth of it echoes through the hills and valleys of the present day. The great heart heard the call. His

¹ -- Hunter II, p. 147.

morning, and their backs to the wall, and prepared

to fight.

There was a great battle for the Jews, and soon

battle was the next morning to the King to be delayed

to the advantage of the Jews. We find the latter part and

the work being finished, but under military orders. All

were seated with their sword by their side, and the whole

watched by day and evening and the whole watched by

night. It was a thrilling experience for these people,

who for so long had been the target for surrounding

tribes. Probably "the work of day and night" did more

to raise the character of the Jewish people than all the

deeds since the return from exile. National self-

respect was rekindled, after so long subjection. Trust

in God and self-reliance had won a battle without blood-

shed. What a lesson they learned!

There were not all Hebrews built in these days.

He built men; he built a nation; and then they came to

live with their racial question, told the story of the

independence of these people and their history — they

wanted peace, and their story was as old as time, and

the truth of it came through the hills and valleys of

the present day. The great heart heard the call. His

I -- What is it?

own life was one from which he could speak with honesty. His own private fortune had diminished. He had given to the poor. He had aided the state unasked — and now he sought, in others, the same action in the name of God. Either through honest desire or cowering fear, the rich followed his lead, and the second task was accomplished with but one threat to those who did not keep their promise ¹.

From this point the popularity of Nehemiah was unquestioned in the common people, but one does not doubt, who has a semblance of knowledge of human nature, that the hatred among the higher classes did not abate. It must have gained in momentum as their profits were wrenched from their grasp. Now the wall was completed; the doors were yet to be hung, when more trouble appeared. This new attack was against Nehemiah and him alone — a compliment of the highest order. The enemies wanted a friendly conference with the new governor ². It was refused. ³ Then an open letter came speaking of rumors and inviting him to visit the writer and deny them. Again he refused and openly denounced the methods used ⁴. Then they tried to intimidate the leader ⁵ but to no avail. Then a

1 -- Nehemiah 5:12, 13.

2 -- Nehemiah 6:3, 4.

3 -- Nehemiah 6:5-7.

4 -- Nehemiah 6:8, 9.

5 -- Kent, p. 178.

own life was one which he could never give up. His own private fortune had diminished. He had given to the poor. He had aided the state treasury — and now he sought, in others, the same action in the name of God. Either through honest desire or covetous fear, the rich followed the lead, and the second lead was accomplished with but one thrust to those who did not keep their

promise.

From this point the popularity of Webster was unquestioned in the common people, but one does not doubt who has a knowledge of knowledge of human nature, that the hatred against the higher classes did not abate. It must have seemed to Webster as their profits were wrung from their backs. Now the toll was collected; the doors were shut to the poor, when were troubles expected. This new attack was against Webster and his alone — a corruption of the highest order. The enemies wanted a friendly conference with the new government. It was refused. Then an open letter came, a declaration of rupture and inviting him to visit the writer and family. Again he refused and openly denounced the methods used. Then they tried to intimidate the leader, but to no avail. Then a

1. — Webster, 1812, 13.
2. — Webster, 1814, 15.
3. — Webster, 1816, 17.
4. — Webster, 1818, 19.
5. — Webster, 1820, 21.

letter came to cease building, but work was done, and there was no order to tear down; thus, the wall was completed after fifty-two days¹. This period of time seems almost incredible though Hunter² holds that it was possible. Ewald³ suggests an error in translation. Graetz supposes the fifty-two days are from the interruption just mentioned. Josephus suggests the time was two years and four months. At any rate, though we cannot settle the date, the wall was completed. Once again, they had faith in God and themselves.

Nehemiah made the Levites the guards of the gates and planned out for them the details of their duties, perhaps, with his departure in view.

The new wall followed the lines of the old, but it did not enclose 10,000 citizens, while the old walls housed some 50,000⁴. The next task was to people Jerusalem.

As Nehemiah invites others into the city we can well imagine that only those were eligible who had no taint of Gentile blood in them. Every tenth man on whom the lot fell must either move into the Holy City or find a substitute.

1 -- Nehemiah 6:15.

2 -- Hunter, p. 170.

3 -- History, Vol. V, p. 157.

4 -- II Kings 24:14.

Letter came to some building, but work was done, and
there was no order to start down; time, the wall was con-
pleted after thirty-two days. This portion of the work
almost immediately through water, which it was con-
sidered. Tests suggested an error in calculation. Tests
showed the fifty-two days was for the investigation
just mentioned. Josephine suggests the time was two years
and four months. At any rate, though we cannot settle
the date, the wall was completed. Once again, they had
failed in God and themselves.

When we saw the level of the ground of the
point and placed out for them the outline of their
project, perhaps, with his departure in view.

The new wall followed the line of the old, but
it did not enclose 10,000 of them, while the old wall
enclosed 20,000. The new wall was to enclose Jerusalem.
As Jerusalem invited others into the city we can

well imagine that only those who were eligible who had no
taint of Gentile blood in them. Every Jew had to show
the lot fell must either have been the Holy City or had
a substitute.

1 - Jerusalem
2 - Jerusalem
3 - Jerusalem
4 - Jerusalem

When this was done, they dedicated the walls.

About 432 B. C. Nehemiah's permission apparently ran out and he returned to the Court of Artaxerxes after his twelve years stay in Judah. "After certain days" he received the royal permission to return to Jerusalem. The first visit seems to have been mainly interested in building walls and building men. In this second visit, Nehemiah appears as a religious reformer, much of which is lost to us. We do have four subjects considered ¹.

Apparently during his absence, short as it may have been, a foreigner had been accepted into the Temple and there took part in the service and even lived within the confines of the Temple itself. Herein, we see human nature in the raw. Man will, for some reason, revert to his lowest tendencies as soon as outward pressure is removed. Here we find the Jews returning to friendly relations with the heathen neighbors upon the departure of Nehemiah for Persia. The first task was the cleansing of the chamber occupied by Tobiah, and the reorganization of the separatist policy.

In the second place, he reemphasizes the necessity of the giving of the whole tithe which has been

1 -- Oesterley, p. 137.

When this was done, they dedicated the table.

About 4:30 P. M. Mendelsohn's car was seen

and he returned to the Court of Alexander's

his twelve years stay in Russia. "After certain days" he

received the royal summons to return to Germany. The

first visit seems to have been mainly to inspect the

the table and building work. In this second visit, Mendelsohn

reports as a religious visitor, which is lost to

us. We do have for this occasion

Apparently during the absence, there is a

have been, a stranger had been accepted into the Temple

and there took part in the service and even lived within

the confines of the Temple itself. Finally, we see how

nature in the text. For some reason, travel to

the forest temples as soon as outdoor presence is re-

moved. Here we find the Jews returning to friendly re-

lationship with the heathen neighbors when the destruction of

Herodian for Persia. The first task was the cleansing of

the chamber occupied by Tobit, and the reconstruction of

the neglected policy.

In the second place, he reestablished the neces-

sity of the ruler of the whole time which has been

1 - October, 1937.

neglected¹. Again he zealously urges Sabbath Observance² and, finally, he talks a bit on mixed marriages³. It is interesting to note, however, that Nehemiah does not insist on divorce of Jews from their foreign wives, but orders against future repetition of the act on the part of the younger generations.

With this four-fold task accomplished, we lose sight of the layman with suddenness which is startling. We cannot even conjecture what happened to him, how long he stayed in Judah, whether he went back to Persia or any other such idea. We just lose him, as far as this generation is concerned.

"Our study of the character of the Judean community has demonstrated conclusively that the chief impetus to reform must have come from without,"⁴ says Kent. Thus, "When Nehemiah had completed his many-sided work, the Judean community was, for the first time in its history ready to give heed to the law book which Ezra and the consecrated Jews of the dispersion brought in their hands."⁵

1 -- Nehemiah 13:10-14.

2 -- Nehemiah 13:15-22.

3 -- Nehemiah 13:23-27.

4 -- Kent, History of the Jewish People, p. 193.

5 -- Ibid, p. 194.

Comparatively few facts are at hand from the close of the era of Nehemiah until the coming of Ezra in 397. Neither sacred or secular historians have given us a great deal of information concerning this important period. However, this is not strange in either case. One could not well expect secular historians to spend much time discussing such a small province of so great an empire. Neither could one expect so proud a people as the Jews to record in detail the happenings in so dark a period of their history.

We will note but three points in closing an historical survey. We know that Eliashib, the high priest, at the time of Nehemiah, was opposed to the reforms he instituted. Thus, we can well suppose that the reforms of Nehemiah did not last long after he left the stage. We also know that Jehohanan became high priest in Jerusalem in 411¹. He was in that office when Ezra arrived, and the conditions were bad enough then. Thus we assume the Church helped little in the readjustment of Israel. We also know that Bogoas was governor of Judah about 407 since some of the appeals of the Egyptian Jews were addressed to him².

1 -- Leslie, p. 112.

2 -- A further discussion follows -- see Elephantine Papyri.

(Continued) - The facts are of course that the close of the era of Knesset until the coming of Ben-Zur. Neither acted or reacted in a manner that was a direct result of information concerning the internal period. However, this is not enough to either call. One could not expect secular historians to spend much time discussing such a small portion of the story as Knesset. Neither could one expect to find a record of the Jews to record in detail the Knesset in its last period of its history.

We still note that these actions in relation to the political survey. We know that Knesset, the first action at the time of Knesset, was ordered to the extent of institution. Thus, we can still suppose that the reforms of Knesset did not last long after he left the state. We also know that Knesset became a first officer in Jerusalem in 1911. He was in that office when the state was not the conditions were not known then. Thus we assume the Council helped itself in the re-organization of Israel. We also know that Knesset was governor of Israel until 1917. The story of the Knesset of the Knesset was not at- tended to him.

1 - Knesset, 1911
2 - A Knesset Knesset Knesset - see Knesset Knesset

Thus closes the history of the fifth century. Much has happened in the few years of which we have record. One wonders what took place from 500-460 and from 430-400. Just yet we do not know.

These classes are history of the fifth century.
Much has happened in the few years of which we have
records. One wonders what took place from 500-483 and
from 480-400. Just yet we do not know.

III. Jewish Literature created in the Period.

A. Literature from Palestine.

1. Historic Literature.

It will not pay us to stay long in this section of the literature created within Palestine of a historical nature for we have already considered quite at length the problem of Ezra and Nehemiah. We have seen ¹ what sections of Nehemiah and Ezra are historical originals and what added parts might well be edited originals. The rest we will have to question, if not discard, as historical material. In accepting this material here we might add the conclusions of Creelman ² which agree insofar as the original personal memoirs are concerned. He further suggests that the rest is the work of the Chronicler and may be either based on history or oral tradition. Unless ³ parts of Chronicles were written at this time, which is doubtful, these are only two historical works of the period.

2. Prophetic Literature.

a. Malachi.

We have already discussed this Prophet and set

1 -- Section II, division A - 2.

2 -- I. O. T., p. 201.

3 -- i.e. II Chronicles 36:22-23 etc.

his date at 460, classifying him as the first prophet of the fifth century. We also considered him, briefly, as his writing touched on the history of the period.

Malachi, or better, "The Messenger", was not what we would call one of the greater of the prophets. We read enough in his short message to assure us that he held many of the conventional opinions of his time. He is a ritualist from start to finish. He advocates divine hatred of Edom as do the Jews of his day. Yet he tells the story of a universal God¹.

Perhaps there is a reason for this practical idealism. It may be possible that there is a good psychology in this new interpretation of the religious need of the hour. He saw, as others must have seen, that all the pre-exilic prophecy had really failed to bring the goal toward which they battled with all their powers of persuasion. The people had refused to respond to the appeals to a better life. Perhaps, then, the unknown prophet was wise in quietly teaching a few ideas instead of radically consigning everything to Sheol.

He opens by stating the love of Yahwah for Israel. The people are not so sure for they cannot see the action
1 -- Malachi 1:11.

the date of 1890, classifying him as the first prophet
of the fifth century. We also considered him, briefly,
as his writings touched on the history of the world.

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all the pre-exilic prophecy had really failed to bring
the soul forward which they battled with all their powers
of persuasion. The people had refused to respond to the
appeals to a better life. Perhaps, then, the unknown
prophet was wise in outwardly teaching a few ideas instead
of tactically convincing everything to Israel.

He began by stating the love of Yahweh for Israel.
The people are not so sure for they cannot see the reason
for his love.

of that love. In proof, Malachi offers the destruction of Edom, the arch-enemy of the Jews ¹. But what did Israel do in return? They answered with ingratitude, especially the priests ², who acted as if God were not there. They even allow impure sacrifice to be offered, and then expect to see love of God. That won't do. You must either give God the best or get out. Then he opens with a universal statement which brands him truly a prophet as he says that even the Gentiles offer better sacrifices to Yahweh than the Jews. In so doing, he recognizes all heathen worship as praise to one God - Yahweh.

He goes on to discuss what will happen to these religious leaders ³. Their blessings shall be turned to curses. Then in contrast he lists the characteristics of the ideal priest. In so doing, he hopes to show the people the true faults of their leaders.

Malachi now turns to the laymen, for they, too, have a responsibility to Yahweh. He feels that they can hardly expect to see the love of God when they have wives who worship heathen gods ⁴. He even goes so far as to prophesy that these men shall lose not only their God

- 1 -- Malachi 1:2-5.
- 2 -- Malachi 1:6-14.
- 3 -- Malachi 2:1-9.
- 4 -- Malachi 2:10-16.

of last year. In 1907, Malachuk offers the description
of the arch-enemy of the Jew. But what did
Tatars do in return? They answered with indignation, re-
solutely the prince, who acted as if God were not there.
They even allow justice according to be offered, and then
expect to see him of God. That would do. You must either
give God the best or not at all. Then he comes with a deliver-
ed statement which shows his faith a hundred or so years
that even the God-like offer better assistance to Vahab
than the Jew. In no doing, he recognizes all Jewish con-
dition as strange to the God - Yahweh.
His eyes on to himself when will happen to those
religious leaders. Their blindness shall be turned to
wisdom. Then he answers to him the characteristics
of the ideal prophet. In no doing, he hopes to show the
people the true faith of their leaders.
Malachuk now turns to the Jew. Let that, too,
have a responsibility in Yahweh. He feels that they
must expect to see the Jew of God when they have seen
the Jewish people's God. He does not so far as to
imagine that there are still Jews not only that

1. The Jew of the
2. The Jew of the
3. The Jew of the
4. The Jew of the
5. The Jew of the

but also their civil and religious rights¹. The sin was not only in the marrying, but the divorcing of their Hebrew wives who had lived with them so long. "The life of the two is one and dies if sundered by divorce."²

He moves then to a criticism of the popular cynicism and doubt³. The people don't believe there is a God of justice — well, says Malachi, he'll come soon enough, much to your chagrin. He suggests folk may not fear their God now, but they will when the doom strikes them.

His second popular criticism in this section lies in the people's failure to pay their tithes. They have never changed — they have always robbed God — and then they have the audacity to expect God to love them. If they would only repent and pay their tithes, Jehovah would send the rain again, and they would be so prosperous all nations would envy them⁴.

He comforts those who are losing hope because the wicked seem to be the only prosperous ones in the nation. He assures them that God knows, and their names are recorded with their deeds. The judgment day will right all these wrongs⁵.

1 -- Verse 12.

2 -- McFadyen, J.E., in Abingdon Commentary, p. 835.

3 -- Malachi 2:17 - 3:5.

4 -- Malachi 3:6-12.

5 -- Malachi 3:13 - 4:3.

but also their civil and religious rights. The law was not only in the making, but the execution of it. Heber Wilson who had lived with them so long, "the life of the two is one and three if separated by divorce."

He never then to a realization of the popular cry - class and doubt. The people don't believe there is a God of justice -- well, says Wilson, he'll come soon enough, and to your justice. He suggests that may not last that God now, but they will after the long struggle then.

The second popular criticism in this section lies in the people's failure to pay their tithes. They have never advanced -- they have always rejected God -- and they have the audacity to expect God to love them. If they would only repeat and pay their tithes, Jehovah would send his rain again, and they would be no longer hungry. No one would envy them.

He comforts those who are feeling down because they viewed seem to be the only opportunity here in the nation. He assures them that God loves them, and their names are recorded with their fathers. The judgment day will right all these wrongs.

- 1 - Verse 10
- 2 - Verse 11
- 3 - Verse 12
- 4 - Verse 13
- 5 - Verse 14
- 6 - Verse 15

He closes with an appeal to follow the law of Moses or expect destruction¹. This is the only² reference to Moses' law in the Prophets.

b. Obadiah.

The author supposes that the reader wonders why this prophet is not listed, discussed, or even mentioned in the history of the fifth century as here written. It is because he is not satisfied with the historicity of the character. There are "thirteen persons bearing the name Obadiah, mentioned in the Old Testament, but we cannot identify the author of this book with any of them." These few verses have been, says Bennett⁴, subject to much controversy. It would seem that there are two points in the twenty-seven verses of the document which cause the most trouble. The most direct historical reference, says Creelman⁵, comes where the author speaks of the treacherous conduct of Edom when some foreign power conquered Jerusalem. They apparently not only enjoyed the idea, but even took part in the plunder and hindered the fugitives in their escape⁶. There are four occasions that could be so

1 -- Malachi 4:4-6.

2 -- Bennett, W.H., The Rel. of the Post-Exilic Prophets, p. 88 - 102.

3 -- Watson, W.G., Obadiah, in Abingdon Commentary, p. 784.

4 -- Bennett, W.H., The Rel. of P. E. P., p. 86, 87.

5 -- I. O. T., p. 212.

6 -- Obadiah 13 & 14.

He objects also to follow the law of
 names or exact description. This is the only reference
 to Mason, law in the Bible.

The author suggests that the reader should
 this subject is not listed, discussed, or even mentioned
 in the history of the 19th century as have writers. It
 is because he is not satisfied with the historical of the
 character. There are thirteen reasons having the same
 character, mentioned in the Old Testament, but we cannot
 identify the author of this book with any of them. These
 reasons have been, says Bennett, subject to such con-
 troversy. It would seem that there are two points in the
 twenty-seven verses of the document which cause the con-
 troversy. The most direct historical reference, says
 Friedman, comes where the author speaks of the trans-
 action of this year some thirty years ago. Friedman
 they apparently not only copied the text, but even took
 care in the chapter and inserted the names in their
 places. There are four occasions that could be so

- 1 - ...
- 2 - ...
- 3 - ...
- 4 - ...
- 5 - ...
- 6 - ...
- 7 - ...
- 8 - ...
- 9 - ...
- 10 - ...

referred to, but scholars almost unanimously agree that the event spoken of is the sacking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar¹ in 586. By a bare process of elimination this would put the prophecy as exilic or post-exilic. But the other problem rises in the discovery that verse 1b to 5 is almost the same as parts of Jeremiah 49:7-22. The question raised here is whether Obadiah quoted from Jeremiah, Jeremiah quoted from Obadiah, or whether they both had access to the same source. Who can answer? In II Chronicles 28:17 and II Kings 16:6 we hear of an attack on Judah. Perhaps that is the date of the prophecy from which they both might have quoted. I would not advance it as a theory, though, because it is a guess at most.

Some scholars feel that the section from 5-7 implies that Edom is finding her just reward for this treacherous attitude toward Judah in the trouble she is having with a former ally.² Creelman suggests that this belief would raise strong grounds to date this prophecy during the exile.

There is one more instance of question. The latter part of the book is apocalyptic, and its point of

1 -- Spelled Nebuchadrezzar by some modern scholars. We have used the "n" as found in the older translations of the canon.

2 -- P. 212.

referred to, but scholars almost unanimously agree that the event spoken of is the seeking of Jeroboam by Rehoboam in 928. By a date process of elimination this would put the prophecy as early as 928-925. But the other problem lies in the discovery that verse 10 is a late addition to the text of Jeremiah 23:21-22. The question raised here is whether Jeroboam dated from Jeroboam, Jeroboam dated from Jeroboam, or whether they both had access to the same source. Who can answer? In 11 Chronicles 28:17 and 11 Kings 10:8 we have an account of Jeroboam. Perhaps that is the date of the prophecy from which they both have dated. I would not advance it as a theory, though, because it is a guess at best.

Some scholars feel that the section from 2:1

implies that Jeroboam is fighting her just reward for this treacherous attitude toward Yahweh in the temple and is having with a former ally. Greenberg suggests that this better would raise other problems to date this prophecy during the exile.

There is one instance of question. The latter part of the book is apocalyptic, and the point of 2 -- which Greenberg suggests is a late addition -- is that the prophecy is a late addition to the text of Jeremiah 23:21-22.

view seems to imply a date rather late in the post-exilic era .¹

So, though this short book is concerned almost entirely with Edom, its disposition is a problem. It might be either three separate prophecies put together by later editors or one prophecy written at a post-exilic date.

There is an assistance to a study in the critical scholarship which considers Jeremiah 49 an editorial addition which would put it much later than 604 B. C. Thus it could be easily copied from Obadiah. Again, some authors feel that Joel copied from Obadiah, thus putting the prophecy we are discussing before the beginning of the fourth century. Another fairly recent development is the noting of the similarity between Malachi and Obadiah.

It is almost impossible to gain a consensus of opinion among the authorities in the field despite the comments just made. Each author has his own interpretation of the data that is common property. However, if we leave the question of whether 10-14 was written at the time of the event, or was retold for a long time before it was finally written, as a problem we cannot solve, we can

1 -- Watson, Abingdon Commentary, p. 784.

view seems to have a date rather late in the nineteenth

century.

So, though this short book is concerned almost

entirely with 1848, the discussion is a precise, in

which the author takes separate problems and discusses

by later editors or one or more writers of a postscript.

There

There is an abundance of material in the original

edition which consists of 1848 as an additional ad-

dition which would not be such later than 1848. This

it could be easily added from the original. Again, some

author's text and text could from the original. The edition

the history of the discussion before the beginning of

the twentieth century. Another fairly recent development

is the return of the original text from the original and

edition.

It is almost impossible to find a connection at

edition under the original in the first edition the

comments that make. The author has his own interpretation

of the text that is common property. However, it is found

the edition of 1848 is not written at the time of

the event, or the text, for a long time before it was

finally written, as a printed or printed edition, or as

1 - History of the original text

well date the rest at about 460 or, at least, between 460 and 400 B. C.

Since we assert that Obadiah is a product of the Fifth Century, we shall study the teaching for a few moments.

Upon first reading, one feels that here is an outburst of hate and not a religious document at all. Vengeance is not an uncommon desire of ancient minds, but it was hardly the only idea of a prophet, even when prophecy was in its decline. G. A. Smith¹ gives us a very fine discussion of Israel's attitude. It is the same, he says, as the situation between Jacob and Esau: on the one hand high ideals and on the other immediate interests; on the one hand a religious nation of the highest sort, while on the other a typically irreligious nation.

"Obadiah's eyes were too full to see, his heart too bitter to feel, that the heathen must be included in God's purposes of mercy; but he did believe, that, in spite of all appearances, God is sovereign and ultimately the kingdom must be the Lord's."² Here is the first step toward Jesus' famous words "Father forgive them". It falls far short, it is true, but the step is taken. But

1 -- The Book of the Twelve, Expositor's Bible, Vol. I.

2 -- Watson, Ibid, p. 785.

well before the year of about 1900, at least, between 400

and 500 B. C.

Since we accept that Gedaliah is a grandson of the

Fifth Century, we shall assign the remaining for a few

minutes.

Upon first reading, one feels that there is an

outburst of rage and not a religious document at all.

There is not an ancient history of the time, but

it is clearly the only one of a prophet, even when pro-

phetic was in the decline. G. A. Smith gives us a very

fine discussion of Israel's attitude. It is the same,

in fact, as the situation between Israel and Egypt; on the

one hand high ideals and on the other the most intense

on the one hand a religious nation of the highest sort,

while on the other a typically materialistic nation.

"Gedaliah's eyes were too full to see, his heart

too bitter to feel, that the heathen must be punished in

God's purposes of mercy; but his belief, that, in

words of all generations, God is righteous and merciful

the prophet must be the Lord's." Here is the first step

toward Jesus! Jesus says "Father forgive them." It

falls far short, it is true, but the step is taken, and

I am sure that the reader, who reads this, will find

just what does the book hold? There are three divisions as we have noticed above.

The condemnation of Edom¹ is backed up with knowledge of their coming trouble which is either common knowledge or a prophecy based on appearances. They fall² thus because of their hostility to Jerusalem when it was destroyed. Thus Edom gets just what she gave. This³ calls out a prophecy of inverted order. The day of Zion shall come, when Israel shall reign supreme, and Jehovah shall rule.

⁴
c. Trito-Isaiah .

The first step in the division of the book of Isaiah caused a break at the end of chapter 39. At the beginning of chapter 40, we are in a new world and we see the work of a new author. This is almost generally accepted and almost as universally dated during the exile as we have seen and discussed in the introduction of this paper.

The next step is one in which the authorities disagree. It was first considered that the same author wrote the whole of 40-56, adding 56-66 after the exile.

- 1 -- Obadiah 1-9.
- 2 -- Obadiah 10-14.
- 3 -- Obadiah 15-21.
- 4 -- Chapters 56-60.

Just what does the book hold? There are three divisions as we have noticed above.

I

The condensation of Ebon is packed up with knowledge of their own trouble which is either common knowledge or a prophecy based on experience. They tell these because of their hostility to America when it was destroyed. Thus Ebon says that what the party will do is to call out a prophecy of inverted order. The day of Ebon shall come, when Israel shall retain courage, and Jehovah shall rule.

C. First Lesson

The first step in the division of the book of Isaiah is a break at the end of chapter 38. At the beginning of chapter 40, we are in a new world and we see the work of a new author. This is almost generally accepted and almost universally dated during the exile as we have seen and discussed in the introduction of this paper.

The next step is one in which the authorship is changed. It was first considered that the same author wrote the whole of 40-55, adding 56-66 after the exile.

- 1 -- Isaiah 1-39
- 2 -- Isaiah 40-55
- 3 -- Isaiah 56-66
- 4 -- Isaiah 67-69

Koenig¹ and others still hold to this theory. Again² Bennett suggests that it might be that these passages are pre-exilic in origin, probably copied or quoted by Second Isaiah.

This hardly seems sufficient. As one reads into chapter 56, there "comes the impression of a great break in circumstance, tone, and color. The break with the high tone of chapter 55 is sudden and unmistakable."³

The change does not, in itself, prove that more than one author wrote.⁴ Professor Wildman made the statement concerning Ezekiel in a rhetorical question thus: "Couldn't a man have more than one idea." A number of scholars feel that way about Isaiah and credit the original prophet with this section.⁵

⁶ Driver sees a division point between 39 and 40 with the rest of the book "the Great Prophecy of Israel's Restoration."⁷ He supports this thesis with an appeal, first, to internal evidence, and then to language and style, and last to the theology and thought. His whole

1 -- p. 325.

2 -- Biblical Introduction, p. 194; cf. Bennett, W.H., The Rel. of the Post-Exilic Prophets, p. 103 ff.

3 -- Rogers, R.W., Isaiah, in Abingdon Commentary, p. 668.

4 -- B. U. S. T., 1933.

5 -- cf. Bleek, Fr., Introduction to the O. T.

6 -- Isaiah, Life & Times, ch. III, & Driver, S. R., Introduction to the Literature of the O. T., p. 230 ff.

7 -- Isaiah, Life & Times, p. 185.

...and others still hold to this theory. Again
...that it might be that these passages
are pre-arranged in order, possibly copied or quoted by
...Second Issue.

This hardly seems sufficient. As one reads
into chapter 22, there "comes the impression of a great
...in discussion, tone, and color. The break with
the high tone of chapter 22 is subtle and unobtrusive."
The change does not, in itself, prove that more

than one author wrote. Professor Wilbur made the state-
ment concerning Tessler is a rhetorical question that:
"Could it be that we have more than one author? A chapter of
evidence that we have Tessler and credit the style-
and product with this section."

Wilbur sees a division point between 24 and 25
with the text of the book "The Great Prophecy of Isaiah's
Restoration." He suggests this book with an appeal
first to internal evidence, and then to language and
style, and last to the history and tradition. His whole

1. The Great Prophecy of Isaiah's Restoration, p. 100.
2. The Great Prophecy of Isaiah's Restoration, p. 100.
3. The Great Prophecy of Isaiah's Restoration, p. 100.
4. The Great Prophecy of Isaiah's Restoration, p. 100.
5. The Great Prophecy of Isaiah's Restoration, p. 100.
6. The Great Prophecy of Isaiah's Restoration, p. 100.
7. The Great Prophecy of Isaiah's Restoration, p. 100.
8. The Great Prophecy of Isaiah's Restoration, p. 100.
9. The Great Prophecy of Isaiah's Restoration, p. 100.
10. The Great Prophecy of Isaiah's Restoration, p. 100.

thesis is found in "these chapters form a continuous prophecy dealing throughout with the common theme" quoted above ¹. He divides the prophecy into three parts.

The first includes 40-49 and the prophet is interested in showing the certainty of the coming release. Israel will be released to teach the world true religion.

The second division includes 49-59, and he exhorts folk to be ready for this new task. And in the third ², he pictures the ideal Zion. It seems unnecessary to consider this idea or the group of scholars who follow Driver farther, for the reason that they accept the thought without argument. They assert and do not supply proof. I certainly would not minimize the work they have done in making the first division, but they did not go far enough, it would seem.

Modern scholarship has massed evidence to suggest a post-exilic date for what Duhm called "Trito-Isaiah." ³ From references to the Temple, one would believe that this prophecy was written after 516 B. C.; then there is more reference to such religious institutions as

1 -- Introduction to Lit. of the O. T., p. 230.

2 -- Chapters 60-66.

3 -- Isaiah 56:7; 60:7; 62:9; and 65:11; 66:6.

There is found in these chapters some of the
 prophecy dealing throughout with the coming of the
 above. He divides the prophecy into three parts.

The first includes 40-49 and the second is
 interested in showing the certainty of the coming of
 Jesus. Jesus will be released to teach the world this
 religion.

The second division includes 50-59, and he
 here tells to be ready for the next time. And in the
 third, he pictures the final time. It seems unnecessary
 to consider this time of the growth of scholars and follow
 Jesus further, for the reason that they accept the
 thought without argument. They accept and do not argue
 much. I certainly would not minimize the work they have
 done in making the first division, but I think not so
 far enough, it would seem.

Yodan scholars have been warned to expect
 great a most-likely time for what some called "Yodan-ism".
 From references to the Bible, one would believe that
 this prophecy was written after 512 B. C.; then there is
 some reference to some religious institution as
 1 - 1st division of the Bible, 2nd division, 3rd division,
 4 - 1st division of the Bible, 2nd division, 3rd division,
 5 - 1st division of the Bible, 2nd division, 3rd division.

sacrifice ¹, the priesthood ², the Sabbath ³, etc., than we find in Second Isaiah. One might go on quoting passages which would illustrate the point, for there are many passages which fairly shout their origin as post-exilic.

That we may move forward to other fields let us suggest that most, if not all, of this section was created sometime after the return from Exile. The temple has been built, and services have been held long enough to have practices creep in which were not generally accepted, and thus caused minor discussion. If we study the intricate ⁴ details of the Hebrew used, we will pass the period of Haggai and Zechariah and find the place for our prophet about the middle of the fifth century.

The prophecy opens rather weakly with a discussion of the ennuuchs and the strangers, or proselytes. The first group have no future for they have no families, Isaiah would build a monument for them if they kept the law and the Sabbath. The second group of outcasts are ⁵ those strangers who are living in Jerusalem. They need not worry, for Jehovah shall not forget them, provided they follow the Jewish law and custom.

1 -- Isaiah 56:7; 60:7; 62:9; 66:20.

2 -- Isaiah 66:21 and 61:7.

3 -- Isaiah 56:2,6;; 58:13f; 66:23.

4 -- Rogers, R.W., Ibid, p. 668.

5 -- Isaiah 1:6-8.

From here he launches into a furious attack on the leaders of Jerusalem and all Israel¹. The nation is full of idolatry, and the leaders are blind to it. Not only that, but also their very incompetence and ignorance leaves the nation defenseless. Having satisfied his anger he moves on to the idolatrous party itself². He seems to know exactly to whom he is talking, but we do not know just who comprised this group unless it was those Jews and Samaritans who remained in Palestine after 586. But there is hope for all those who love the Lord and forsake their idols³.

In chapters 58 and 59, he deals with methods. The first necessity is the cutting out of mere mechanical fasts. It is far better to abstain from oppressing the weak, and care for the unfortunate⁴. Again, he appeals to keep the Sabbath⁵.

Sin is a barrier between God and man⁶, but God is willing to destroy that barrier⁷. When he does, Jerusalem will be the seat of future glory where all the

1 -- Isaiah 56:9-2:2.

2 -- Isaiah 57:3-13a.

3 -- Isaiah 57:13b-21.

4 -- Isaiah 58:1-12.

5 -- Isaiah 58:13-14.

6 -- Isaiah 59:1-8.

7 -- Isaiah 59:9-21.

There have been many attempts to
 the leaders of the movement and all Israel. The nation is
 full of hostility, and the leaders are blind to it. Not
 only that, but also their very incompetence and ignorance
 leaves the nation defenceless. Having established this
 aspect he goes on to the individual party itself. He
 seems to know exactly to whom he is talking, but he do
 not know just who comprises this group unless it was
 those Jews and Samaritans who remained in Palestine after
 583. But there is more for all those who love the land
 and foresee its future.

In chapters 30 and 31, he deals with the
 The first necessity is the cutting out of mere mechanical
 facts. It is far better to abstain from concerning the
 mass, and care for the unfortunate. Again, he suggests
 to keep the Sabbath.
 Sin is a barrier between God and man, but God
 is willing to destroy that barrier. When he does, Jeru-
 salem will be the seat of future glory where all the

- 1 - Isaiah 40:1-11
- 2 - Isaiah 40:12-31
- 3 - Isaiah 41:1-10
- 4 - Isaiah 41:11-16
- 5 - Isaiah 42:1-17
- 6 - Isaiah 42:18-25
- 7 - Isaiah 42:26-49

nations will march to Zion¹. Then in the last three chapters, he rises to new heights and lights the light of a true philosophy of religion.²

d. Isaiah 34 and 35.

Here is another passage which seems foreign to the writings of Isaiah. Not only is the change apparent in the thought construction of the document, but even in the language used and the attitude toward history. Here are the words of an unknown prophet most assuredly written after the Exile in 586; perhaps even after the return in 537.

The author gives us some clues to the date. In the first place, he expresses severe hostility toward Edom, which must be pointing to a date as late as the Exile. From the destruction of Jerusalem in 586, Israel never forgave Edom.

Again, the promise and picture of the restoration³ of the exiles dates it, at least, after the exile began.

There is a similarity of writing and expression between these two chapters and the works of Deutero and Trito Isaiah and others. One would surmise that the

1 -- Chapters 59-64.

2 -- Chapters 64-66.

3 -- Chapter 34.

national will which is clear. Then in the last three chapters, he tries to show that the history of a time philosophy of religion.

Here is another passage which seems to be the writer of the text. Not only is the passage repeated in the text, but even in the language used and the attitude towards history. Here are the words of an unknown person who seems to be writing after the style of 1880; perhaps even after the return to

The author gives us some clues to the date. In the first place, he expresses a certain feeling towards the which must be pointed to a date as late as the 1880s. From the description of the author in 1880, it is clear that

Again, the presence and absence of the mentioned of the author's date is, at least, after the style of 1880. There is a similarity of style and expression between these two chapters and the style of 1880 and this leads me to say that the author writes after the

- 1 - 1880
- 2 - 1880
- 3 - 1880

interpretation given here would place the work in the period of the exile. However, the last statement of comparison of ideas refutes that suggestion, despite the fact that the author forecasts the return of the exiled peoples.

¹
Scholars agree, in part, at least, to place this work in the last half of the fifth century, perhaps near the middle (450).

Thus we close the prophetic resume of the fifth century, leaving Joel as the beginning of the fourth and out of our jurisdiction.

3. Cultic, Devotional, and Poetic Literature.

The Psalms are themselves a sufficient field for study in such a thesis as this. It is impossible to broaden our discussion here to consider all the aspects of this type of literature. There is little doubt that prophecy had the most to do with the life of Israel, but, after the exile and the rebuilding of the Temple, we have every reason to believe that hymn-singing took a close second place. On the one hand, if prophecy represents the voice of God to man, songs are the response of man to God ¹.

¹ -- Sanday, "Bible" in Encyclopedia of Rel. & Ethics, p. 567.

interpretation given here would place the work in the
period of the exile. However, the last statement of
consistency of these verses that suggests, however,
the fact that the author foresees the return of the
exiled people.

Scholarly agree, in part, at least, to place
this work in the last half of the fifth century, or
perhaps near the middle (450).

Thus we have the prophetic verses of the fifth
century, leaving Joel as the beginning of the fourth and
out of our jurisdiction.

3. *Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Psalms*
The Psalms are themselves a sufficient field for

study in such a thesis as this. It is impossible to
broader our discussion here to consider all the aspects
of this type of literature. There is little doubt that
prophets had the need to do with the life of Israel, but
after the exile and the rebuilding of the Temple, we
have every reason to believe that hymn-writing took a
close second place. On the one hand, it was necessary
to give the voice of God to man, and on the other hand
to give to God.

1. Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Psalms

"It is generally allowed among Old Testament Scholars that the Psalter was the hymn book of the post-exilic Jewish community. As such, it properly belongs to that period."¹ Thus, since it is a practically endless task, if not an impossible one, to date each individual psalm and construct its author, we shall consider the many documents as the Hymn Book of the new Temple.

This book of songs contains "the religion of Israel at its greatest depth and its most passionate intensity."² It is generally agreed that songs were an early heritage of the human race.³ Barton tells us that "poetry and music began before Adam died."⁴ Eiselen suggests that "Hebrew poetry reaches back to the most ancient recollections of the people of Israel",⁵ and Kent adds that this was also true of other nations of antiquity. Israel had prophets, and the influence on her life is a matter of history. She also had those who put the prophetic insight into song. "The Psalter, representing as it does close to a thousand years of Israel's history, may be viewed as a transcript of the heart life of the Hebrew people.

1 -- Creelman, p. 68.

2 -- Leslie, E.A., Abingdon Commentary, p. 509.

3 -- Barton, W.E., The Psalms and Their Story, Vol. I, p.9.

4 -- Eiselen, F.C., The Psalms and Other Sacred Writings, p. 11.

5 -- Kent, C.F., The Songs, Hymns and Prayers of the Old Testament, p. 3.

"It is generally allowed among Old Testament

Scholars that the Psalter was the hymn book of the

exilic Jewish community. As such, it properly belongs

to that period. Thus, since it is a strictly ex-

pressional book, it is not an historical one, to give each

verse its own meaning and context, as shall soon be

the main concern of the Psalter of the new Temple.

This book of songs contains the religion of

Israel at its deepest depth and the most passionate in-

tervention. It is generally agreed that some were an

early history of the human race. Psalms tell us that

"poetry and music began before Adam died." Psalms are

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recollections of the people of Israel," and that also

that this was also true of other nations of antiquity.

Israel had prophets, and the influence on her life is a

matter of history. She also had those who put the prophetic

into song. "The Psalter, representing as it does

close to a thousand years of Israel's history, may be viewed

as a transcript of the heart life of the Hebrew people.

I - Chapter 1. The Psalter, a book of songs, is a

book of songs, a book of songs, a book of songs.

2 - Chapter 2. The Psalter, a book of songs, is a

book of songs, a book of songs, a book of songs.

3 - Chapter 3. The Psalter, a book of songs, is a

Coming from a vast variety of individuals.....it is a mirror of the life of the soul, not of Israel, merely, but of humanity. It is the noblest book of devotion known to men.¹

To attempt to take these songs from the whole lyric literature of the Jews will spoil the trend of development. But, even that will not suffice. We must consider them in only two ways, in this thesis: as a hymn book of the second Temple; and, in detail, those psalms which are the products of the fifth century.

The same difficulty arises, at once, that we discovered in the dating of Ezra, and that we shall again discover in the dating of the final compilation of the law. Certainly the organization into a definite form did not come before the return from the exile. Sanday insists that "In reference to the date... ..the consensus of opinion among Old Testament scholars today is that" no grouping of the psalms "is earlier than the Restoration,² i.e. the Persian Period."

We can readily assume that such a statement as Sanday's does not tell the whole story. There was a temple,³ and there was temple worship before the exile. We know

1 -- Leslie, E.A., from Abingdon Commentary, p. 509.

2 -- Creelman, p. 228.

3 -- See Creelman, I. O. T., for further details.

...it is a
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We can readily assume that such a statement as
 Genday's does not tell the whole story. There was a temple,
 and there was temple worship before the exile. We know

1 - Isaiah, 7:1-13, 24:23-24, 40:1-11, 48:1-16, 52:1-10, 54:1-10, 55:1-5, 56:1-7, 57:1-13, 58:1-14, 59:1-11, 60:1-14, 61:1-11, 62:1-12, 63:1-11, 64:1-12, 65:1-14, 66:1-17, 67:1-16, 68:1-19, 69:1-14, 70:1-5, 71:1-10, 72:1-17, 73:1-40, 74:1-8, 75:1-7, 76:1-7, 77:1-14, 78:1-72, 79:1-14, 80:1-14, 81:1-14, 82:1-8, 83:1-24, 84:1-14, 85:1-7, 86:1-7, 87:1-6, 88:1-18, 89:1-52, 90:1-17, 91:1-16, 92:1-5, 93:1-5, 94:1-9, 95:1-11, 96:1-13, 97:1-12, 98:1-9, 99:1-9, 100:1-5, 101:1-8, 102:1-11, 103:1-22, 104:1-34, 105:1-45, 106:1-48, 107:1-30, 108:1-8, 109:1-13, 110:1-5, 111:1-10, 112:1-8, 113:1-9, 114:1-8, 115:1-18, 116:1-9, 117:1-9, 118:1-29, 119:1-176, 120:1-6, 121:1-8, 122:1-9, 123:1-4, 124:1-8, 125:1-5, 126:1-6, 127:1-5, 128:1-8, 129:1-8, 130:1-4, 131:1-5, 132:1-10, 133:1-3, 134:1-7, 135:1-7, 136:1-9, 137:1-9, 138:1-8, 139:1-12, 140:1-13, 141:1-10, 142:1-5, 143:1-6, 144:1-9, 145:1-21, 146:1-7, 147:1-11, 148:1-14, 149:1-9, 150:1-6.

that there were songs written before the exile, and we can well surmise that the editors of the final hymn book for use in the second Temple made use of previous collections. Dr. Leslie ¹ gives us eight constructive steps in the development of the psalter. We quote:

1. The compilation of a Davidic collection with a doxology at the close, 3-41.

2. The compilation of a second Davidic collection with a doxology at the close, 51-72.

3. The compilation of a collection entitled "of Asaph", probably a guild of Temple singers,² 50, 73-83.

4. The compilation of a collection entitled "of the Sons of Korah", perhaps used in the temple of Dan, 42-49.

5. The redaction of an Elohist Psalter, 42-83, out of psalms that were derived from the second, third, and fourth collections.

6. The Elohist Psalter was enlarged by the addition of 84-89.

7. The compilation of a collection entitled "Song of the Ascents", 120-134.

8. The compilation of 90-150 around these "Songs of the Ascents" and other similar collections.

When we have this information as a background, and when we realize how many of the songs are pre-exilic and individual in origin, we can return to the statement of

1 -- "Introduction to the Psalms" in Abingdon Commentary, p. 510.

2 -- Bethel is suggested by J. P. Peters as the Temple in which they were used.

that there were some other before the axis, and we can well suppose that the editors of the final paper took for use in the second temple was of previous collection.

In the development of the matter, the matter:

1. The collection of a Davidic collection with a vocabulary at the close, 5-11.

2. The collection of a second Davidic collection with a vocabulary at the close, 21-25.

3. The collection of a collection entitled "of Asaph", probably a collection of temple singers, 26-28.

4. The collection of a collection entitled "of the Sons of Korah", perhaps used in the temple of David, 29-33.

5. The collection of an Eliabite Psalter, 34-38, out of which that were derived from the second, third, and fourth collections.

6. The Eliabite Psalter was gathered by the addition of 34-38.

7. The collection of a collection entitled "Book of the Asaphs", 130-134.

8. The collection of 130-134 around these "Songs of the Asaphs" and other similar collections.

When we have this information as a background, and

when we realize how many of the words are out-of-date and

individual in origin, we can return to the statement of

I - "Introduction to the Psalter" in Expository Psalmody,

II - "Psalms as a Collection" by J. B. Poirier in the Journal

which they were first published.

Sanday, quoted above. To that we shall add Dr. Leslie:

"In every case in their present arrangement, they have¹ been collected and edited for the post-exilic period."

²
Barton suggests that the first collection of Davidic psalms was made in the reign of Hezekiah. He bases his evidence on the statement in II Chronicles 29:30, "Moreover, Hezekiah, the king, and the princes commanded the Levites to sing praises unto Jehovah, with the words of David and of Asaph, the seer". This, Barton says, "probably records the first crude beginnings of the Hebrew hymn book."

The second collection he places in the reign of Josiah and includes in these two collections most of which we have listed above in four.

The rest he places at the time of the second Temple which would place the final construction of an inclusive hymn book within our century.

³
W. R. Smith places 1-41 at the time of Ezra - Nehemiah, 51-72 during the fourth century, the Korahite (42-49) and the Asaphic (50, 73-83) collections between 430 and 330 B. C., the Elohistie redaction during the third

1 -- "Introduction to the Psalms", Abingdon Commentary, p. 513.

2 -- Barton, Wm.E., The Psalm and Their Story, Vol. II, p. 191ff.

3 -- "Psalms" in the Encyclopedia Britanica, 9th Edition & The Old Testament and the Jewish Church, chapter VII.

century, and puts the rest at a still later date.

¹
C. A. Briggs suggests a collection of "Miktamin", or golden poems, before the time of Nehemiah. This would include Psalms 56-60 where "Miktam" is found. Later in the Persian period he states the formation of another collection entitled "Maskilin" including Psalms 42-45 and 52-55 where "Maskil" is used. From these two a prayer book was compiled from the two groups just named with the Psalms of the Sons of Korah compiled before the beginning of the Greek period.

²
Kirkpatrick lists Psalms 1-41 at the time of Solomon with the exception of 1 and 2 which are an editorial introduction and 33 which is an editorial explanation of the last verse of 32. Psalms 42 to 89 were compiled in the middle period of the Kingdom with the exception of the appendix, 84-89, which were created or edited after the Return. The rest of the psalms were collected at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, with the possibility of much later addition to them.

Thus it can be clearly seen that there can be no definite conclusion reached. We do not know just what the hymn book of the second Temple contained. Despite the

1 -- Commentary on the Book of Psalms, Vol. I, p. IX ff.

2 -- Kirkpatrick, A.F., The Psalms, in the Cambridge Bible, Books 2 & 3, p. XLIII ff.

century, and note the year at which later date.

C. A. Brixer suggests a collection of "Wissens", or golden poems, before the time of Nebuchadnezzar. This would

include Psalms 55-60 where "Wissens" is found. Later in the Persian period he states the formation of another collection entitled "Wissens" including Psalms 43-45 and 52-55 where "Wissens" is used. From these two a prayer book was compiled from the two groups just named with the Psalms of the Book of Psalms compiled before the beginning

of the Greek period.

Yitzhakson lists Psalms 1-41 at the time of

Polson with the exception of 1 and 2 which are an editorial introduction and 33 which is an editorial explanation of the last verse of 32. Psalms 42 to 52 were compiled in the middle period of the Temple with the exception of the appendix, 54-56, which were created or edited after the return. The rest of the psalms were collected at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, with the possibility of much

later addition to this.

Thus it can be clearly seen that there can be no definite conclusion reached. We do not know just what the hymn book of the second Temple contained. Besides the

1 - Concordance of the Bible at Harpaz, Vol. 1, p. 11
2 - Concordance of the Bible at Harpaz, Vol. 1, p. 11
3 - Concordance of the Bible at Harpaz, Vol. 1, p. 11

difference of opinion, here presented, it is generally agreed that the compilation took place for use in the second Temple. General agreement can likewise be found for the use of Psalms 3-89, at least, as temple worship songs of the fifth century.

And now we come to one of the most difficult discussions of this paper: What Psalms were written in the fifth century B. C.? If there is some difference of opinion upon the date of the various collections, one, at least, could find agreement in a general way. Here, however, no two authors come within reach of each other.

¹

For example, C. A. Briggs : "In the early Persian period there was a great outburst of psalmody. As many as thirty-three psalms were composed: 4, 6, 9-10, 11, 12, 14 (=53), 16, 17, 22, 25, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 41, 57a, 59, 64, 69a, 70 (=40b), 75, 76, 78, 80, 83, 101, 109a, 140, 143, 144a. This was due to several influences. The conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, which aroused the enthusiasm of the exilic Isaiah, called forth lyric songs. The rebuilding of the altar and the temple, with the restoration of the worship in Jerusalem, as it was accompanied by prophetic voices, so also by those of lyric poets. The struggles of the pious with the unfaithful in the community, and with

1 -- The Book of Psalms, Vol. I, p. LXXXIX.

difference of opinion. have presented, it is generally
 stated that the collection took place for use in the
 second Temple. General agreement can likewise be found
 for the date of Psalm 137, at least, as some scholars
 regard it as the fifth century.

And now we come to one of the most difficult
 questions of this paper: What Psalm was written in
 the fifth century B. C.? If there is some difference of
 opinion upon the date of the various collections, one,
 at least, could find agreement in a general way. Now,
 however, no two authors come within reach of each other.
 For example, G. A. Briggs: "In the early Persian period
 there was a great outburst of psalmody. As many as thirty-
 three psalms were composed: 4, 6, 7-10, 11, 12, 14 (=23),
 15, 17, 22, 25, 27, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 41, 47, 52,
 54, 55, 70 (=40), 72, 73, 75, 76, 80, 82, 101, 102, 140,
 142, 144a. This was due to several influences. The con-
 quest of Babylon by Cyrus, which aroused the enthusiasm of
 the exiled Israelites, called forth lyric songs. The rebuilding
 of the altar and the temple, with the restoration of the
 worship in Jerusalem, as it was suggested by prophetic
 voices, as also by those of lyric poets. The struggles of
 the people with the unbelief in the community, and with

the neighboring little nations, whose jealousy and hatred constantly interfered with the growth and prosperity of the people of Jerusalem, also naturally exposed itself in song."

"Toward the close of this period the collection of Mikhtamin, or golden poems, was made after the example of the older collection of the book of Yashai.

"No further additions were made to the Psalter till the times of Ezra and Nehemiah, when it was enriched by a large number of songs written during and after the exile. To this period are due, in the main, the fourth¹ and fifth books.²"

To the middle Persian period, the times of Nehemiah, we may assign sixteen psalms: 5, 6, 15, 26, 29, 30, 40a, 47, 51, 57b, 65, 66a, 69b, 138, 139a, 141.³"

Turning next to Eiselen we find him assuming that⁴ there are two distinct classes of Psalms. There are many which show no historical situation which could give them a specific date. These, therefore, cannot be assigned to any period, surely not the fifth century. Among these Eiselen places Psalms 8, 19:1-6, 29, 33, 36, 65, 66, 76, 92, 103,

1 -- Leslie, Abingdom Commentary, p. 509 ---

IV = 90-106; V = 107-150.

2 -- Perowne, J.J.S., Book of Psalms, Vol. I, p. 63.

3 -- Briggs, C.A., The Book of Psalms, Vol. I, p. LXXXIX.

4 -- Eiselen, p. 72 ff.

Page 90

104, 107, 145-147. He also suggests the possibilities of 24:7-10, 47, 67, 93, 96-100, 111, 113, 115, 117, 118, 134-136, 148-150. These are all Hymns of praise or liturgy. In this class he also places the "experience" psalms: 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 23, 26, 27, 42, 43, 52, 53, 58, 62, 63, 64, 75, 82, 84, 91, 101, 121, 127, 128, 130, 131, 133, 138, 139 and 19:7-14 and 119. To this he adds the "reflection" psalms of 1, 34, 37, 90, 112; 49 and 73; and concludes with 15, 24:1-6, 32, and 50.

If this were the only method of dating the separate documents, this classification would be permissible and we could deal with the remainder. There are, however, other methods¹. Diction and literary style, the relation to writings of known date, and the character of the religious ideals expressed, all do their part in this gigantic task.

Following these four tests and the work of Daniel G. Stevens² we would assign psalms 120-134, inclusive, to the age of the return. This author offered his proof and had it accepted as a doctor's dissertation. But still we are not satisfied. Is there no agreement to be found? Creelman who usually aids us materially refuses, utterly, to commit himself. On page 131 of his Introduction he says,

1 -- Leslie, in Abingdon Commentary, p. 513

2 -- Stevens, D.G., A Critical Commentary on the Songs of the Return, p. 68ff.

104, 107, 145-147. We also suggest the possibility of
 247-49, 49, 53, 54-100, 111, 112, 115, 117, 118,
 121-122, 148-150. There are all kinds of ways of history.
 In this class we also place the "historical" series: 9,
 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24,
 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38,
 39 and 40: 7-14 and 116. To this we add the "realistic"
 position of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39 and 40: 7-14 and 116.

If this were the only method of doing the exercise
 documents, this classification would be satisfactory and we
 could deal with the remainder. There are, however, other
 methods. History and literary style, the relation to
 witness of modern data, and the character of the relations
 ideas expressed, all the other part is this scientific task.
 Following these four tests and the work of English

of Shawna we would assign series 100-154, inclusive, to
 the age of the return. This author offered his proof and
 had it accepted as a doctor's dissertation. But still we
 are not satisfied. Is there no argument to be found?
 Questioned who usually aids us especially refused, utterly,
 to correct himself. On page 151 of his introduction he says,
 I am not a doctor, but a student of the history of the
 human mind. I am not a doctor, but a student of the history of the
 human mind.

"on account of this wide range of opinion on this subject no attempt is made in this volume to determine what psalms are with certainty, more or less, to be assigned to this period." Later ¹ he adds, "no attempt is made in this volume to note the times and occasions which different representative scholars have considered probable for the various psalms in the several collections."

Again on page 228 he assures us that "in this connection it is the date of the collections, not so much of the individual psalms composing them, which is being considered. It would seem to me that the only answer we can make on the psalms of this period is "I do not know". Certainly the future scholars will have to do much work before the problem will be solved.

In the Psalms we see not only a hymn book for Temple worship, but even more a book of life of a people. "The Hebrews, with their burning religious passion, their spirited nationalism, their strong imagination, were poetically gifted to a high degree." ² Here we see the childlike expressions of faith of a God-fearing people. Unlike the poetry of many of their contemporaries, theirs was simple and direct, yet plumbing the very depths of life.

1 -- P. 266.

2 -- Leslie, E.A., "Introduction to the Psalms", in Abingdon Commentary, p. 513.

"an account of this side of the condition of the subject
no attempt is made in this volume to determine what
points are with certainty, more or less, to be assigned
to this period." Later he adds, "no attempt is made in
this volume to make the lines and occasions with dif-
ferent representative scholars have considered problems
for the various series in the several collections."

again on page 328 he remarks as that "in this connection
it is the case of the collections, not as such of the in-
dividual series connecting them, which is being considered.
It would seem to me that the only answer we can make on
the basis of this period is "I do not know." Certainly
the future scholars will have to make some before the
period will be solved.

In the future we see not only a new book for
these works, but even more a book of life of a people.
The Hebrews, with their burning religious passion, their
notified nationalism, their strong individualism, were
necessarily lifted to a high degree. For we see the
original expressions of faith of a God-testing people.
Unlike the poetry of many of their contemporaries, theirs
was simple and direct, yet showing the very depths of life.

¹ They express different religious ideas which Gunkel groups under ten headings:

1. Hymns of Praise.
2. Hymns of Jehovah's accession to the throne.
3. National Lamentations.
4. The King's Psalms.
5. Individual Lamentations.
6. Individual Songs of Thanksgiving.
7. Lyrics such as blessings, cursings, victory songs and the like.
8. Prophetic poems.
9. Wisdom poetry.
10. Antiphonal poems and liturgy.

Unlike the prophets, there is little theory found in these pages. It is everyday experience with the world in which they live and the other world in which God lives that stirs the psalmist to sing of the majesty of his Creator as he sees the deeds He has done in the history of His people. Every picture which is painted across the vision of the writer contains the image of his God.

It is not all one conception that we find here. Rather it is the soul of a people laid bare. Not written in one era, it traces the development of religious

¹ -- See Class Notes, p. 22.

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are grouped under the headings:

1. Hymns of Praise.
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6. Individual Songs of Thanksgiving.
7. Lyrics such as historical, didactic, victory songs and the like.
8. Proseptic songs.
9. Wisdom poetry.
10. Ecclesiastical songs and liturgy.

Unlike the prophets, there is little theory found in these poems. It is everyday experience with the world in which they live and the other world in which God lives that stir the poet to sing of the majesty of his Creator as he sees the deeds He has done in the history of His people. Every picture which is painted evokes the vision of the writer centered about the theme of his song. It is not all one conception that we find here. Rather it is the work of a people laid bare. Not written in one era, it traces the development of religious

consciousness of individuals and the race. We find trust in God, gratitude toward God, appeals to God to cleanse His people, fellowship with God, exaltation and despair, all mirrored on the pages of the hymn book. The story it tells teems with life as folks lived it then, and from its teachings comes the inspiration of the future.

4. Wisdom Literature.

Of the three documents which we classify as wisdom literature, one lies in the realm of our consideration. From the first chapter and other references¹, one would surmise that the stage for the play in the book of Job is set in the Patriarchal period of Jewish history. The general opinion, however, is that the book was not written then, but much later². We shall note here three of these arguments. In the first place, the book has all the marks of an advanced state of society, where "a wider range of observation" is noted³ then would be possible for a nomad of the old days. In the second place, there is too much reference here and there to a general condition of distress than could be projected from merely a personal sufferer⁴. And

1 -- Job 42, 7 ff.

2 -- See Creelman, p. 235.

3 -- cf. 12:13ff; 24; 30:1-8; 29:7; 31:21; 31:11; 28, 35f.

4 -- cf. 13:18ff; 7:1; 9:24; 12:6,17; 24:12. / & 13:18ff.

consciousness of individuals and the race. The kind of
in God, creating toward God, according to God to believe
His people, fellowship with God, exaltation and blessing.
All mirrored on the pages of the hymn book. The story
it tells seems with life as follows lived it then, and from
its teaching comes the revelation of the future.

4. *History of the Church*

Of the three documents which we discuss as
wisdom literature, and live in the realm of our consid-
eration. First the first chapter and other references,
one would surmise that the story for the day in the
book of Job is not in the historical period of Jewish
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note here three of these arguments. In the first place,
the book has all the marks of an advanced state of
society, where "a wider range of observation" is noted
than would be possible for a world of the old days.
In the second place, there is too much reference here
and there to a general condition of affairs than could
be projected from merely a personal sufferer. And

- 1 - The book of Job is a wisdom literature.
- 2 - The book of Job is a wisdom literature.
- 3 - The book of Job is a wisdom literature.
- 4 - The book of Job is a wisdom literature.

again, the very attacking of the problem of suffering calls for an age of deep reflection. Such subjects were not problems to be solved in the early days. In Jeremiah¹, in about the year 626 ff., is the first reference we have to the questioning spirit. There are many other references we might command, but this suffices.

If we accept this later date possibility, we still have some problems to solve. Some folk place the work in the time of the exile², for there they see a nation in the same condition as the character Job. They also claim that there are parallels in language between Job and Deutero-Isaiah, suggesting that they "lived surrounded by the same atmosphere of thoughts."³

Another group favor a post-exilic date. They propose for our consideration that Job represents a righteous nation, and such a consciousness did not develop until the reforms of Nehemiah in 432, etc. Then there are other authors who find hints of an even later date⁴.

⁵ Professor Lofthouse suggests, in a unique way, the service that Job gives to the world. He says it is

1 -- Jeremiah 12:1.

2 -- Davidson, Job, p. IXVIX.

3 -- same reference.

4 -- Creelman, p. 239, 350 B.C.

5 -- Job, in Abingdon Commentary, p. 483.

again, the very attraction of the problem of suffering
 calls for an act of faith, reflection. Such subjects were
 not problems to be solved in the early days. In Japan
 with, in about the year 528 A.D., is the first reference
 we have to the question of suffering. There are many other
 references we might consult, but this suffices.

It is no secret that later date, possibly, we
 still have some reference to suffer. Some folk place the
 word in the time of the exile, for there have been
 nations in the same condition as the character Job. They
 also find that there are details in Japanese history
 too and Chinese history, suggesting that they lived sur-
 rounded by the same atmosphere of suffering.

Another group favor a post-exilic date. They
 propose for our consideration that Job represents a
 Chinese nation, and with a consciousness did not develop
 until the reform of Mencius in 337, etc. Then there
 are other authors who find hints of an even later date.
 Professor Jastrow suggests, in a notice in
 the review that Job lives in the world. He says it is

1. - Job, the son of
 2. - Job, the son of
 3. - Job, the son of
 4. - Job, the son of
 5. - Job, the son of

hardly even wisdom literature. In fact, he assures us that the author must have been one of the cynics of the Old Testament who deliberately cut himself from traditional theology and traditions. He says the book is poetry. Its main concern is the relation of God to suffering and evil. He then raises four rather pertinent questions. He first suggests that there is a possibility that Job is a compilation. It would seem that each part of the book has its contribution to make to the whole, but there have been many suggestions and arguments to the contrary. The prologue and epilogue have been doubted, Elihu is quite commonly considered an addition, the speeches of Yahweh have been attacked, and several shorter passages, scattered here and there. We shall consider them under four main headings.

1. The Prologue and Epilogue, it is said, resemble an old folk-tale. Some scholars consider that here we find the whole or a large part of a Volksbuch which the author of the Bible document used as a foundation for his religious dissertation. In support of this stand there are four arguments offered:

- a. The prologue and epilogue are written in prose while the rest of the story is composed in poetry.

1 -- Eiselen, Ibid, p. 139 f.

hardly even within literature. In fact, he suggests as
 that the author may have been one of the victims of the
 Old Testament who deliberately put himself into traditional
 poetry and tradition. He says the book is poetry. It
 also appears to be the subject of God to suffer and evil.
 He then raises four rather pertinent questions. He first
 suggests that there is a possibility that Job is a conse-
 lation. It would seem that each part of the book has its
 contribution to make to the whole, but there have been
 many suggestions and arguments to the contrary. The two
 issues that have been debated, which is quite
 commonly considered an addition, the speeches of Job
 have been attacked, and several other passages, scattered
 here and there. We shall consider them under four main
 headings.

1. The Prologue and Epilogue. It is well known
 as old folk-tale. Some scholars consider that here we find
 the whole of a larger part of a Volksbuch which the author
 of the Bible document used as a foundation for his religious
 interpretation. In support of this statement are four
 arguments offered:

a. The prologue and epilogue are written in prose
 while the rest of the story is composed in poetry.

b. Here the divine name is Yahweh, while, in the rest of the book we find El, or Eloch, or Shaddai ¹.

c. Here Job is "patient, submissive, and resigned", while the Job of the poetical sections is "impatient, bitter, and even defiant" ².

d. The prologue shows us Job on trial, the epilogue testifies to the fact that he has stood the test to God's satisfaction. Then the scene changes, and the dialogues seem to have God on trial, rather than Job.

This is, in part, the theory of Budde. He goes further into the study of dates for his Volksbuch, but we need not follow his reasoning and the rebuttal, for it is of no consequence to this paper. We are interested, however, in authorship. Budde builds an interesting, but not altogether convincing case for a separate author. In the first place, it is not altogether a certainty that the poet of the body of Job could not or would not have used prose if he saw fit. Sometimes, modern critics do not give the early writers the right to change their methods, even in the light of the fact that it is being done everywhere today. In the second place, the argument is a good deal stronger. Here I should like very much to be able to study the original

1 -- There are two exceptions, 12:9 and 38:1, which are considered as later interpolations.

2 -- Eiselen, Ibid, p. 139 f.

language. Without that knowledge, one must move cautiously. Yet, the mere fact that there are three words used for God in the poetry sections, would not make it altogether fanciful to suggest that the author used Yahweh in the prologue and epilogue for a purpose, or at least for a change. In this paper I have used some seven or more terms for God. Why should we limit the author of Job to one or two? There are, in the third place, many times in a man's life when his moods change. Again, my only answer to the change of attitude is that it may have been possible that the mere statement of the case we find in the prologue is the introduction to the discourses which follow. Then the author gets down to details, with the epilogue as a conclusion. This argument is not strong, but is supported by the first few verses of the epilogue, if they are not interpolations. I feel that these came from the same author but from an earlier date.

2. The speeches of Elihu are the center of another critical battle. Driver ¹ tells us that "the general opinion of commentators and critics" places them at a later date than the rest of Job. They use three main arguments:

a. Elihu is not mentioned in the prologue nor the epilogue. In the former case the silence may be explained

1 -- Introduction to Lit. of the O. T., p. 428.

by the fact that he is not a principal speaker. It is harder to explain the absence of the name in the epilogue where God is passing judgment on Job's friends.

b. The speeches of Elihu are loosely knit to the story; they interrupt the thread of the story just at the point where we expect God to answer Job; they anticipate a part of the arguments of God ¹.

c. "The speeches of Elihu do not contribute anything essentially new to the argument." ² His great emphasis is upon Job's suffering as a punishment for sin, ³ which has already been made by Eliphaz and refuted by Job ⁴.

d. In addition, it becomes apparent as one reads the story as a whole that the speeches of Elihu lack the literary characteristics of those of the friends of Job ⁵.

It is clear that no absolute proof can be offered, but the arguments in opposition to the authenticity of these speeches are strong. They appear to have been added by some later author who was dissatisfied with Job's attitude, with the ineffectiveness of the speeches of the friends, and with the place given to disciplinary suffering ⁶. Here we shall take our stand.

1 -- See chapters 36 and 37.

2 -- Eiselen, Ibid, p. 144.

3 -- 5:8 ff and 17 ff.

4 -- 6:24 ff.

5 -- Driver, Ibid, p. 429.

6 -- cf. Eiselen, Ibid, p. 145 ff.

by the fact that he is not a practical man. It is
harder to explain the absence of the name in the English
version God is placing himself on Job's friends.

b. The speeches of Elihu are loosely put to the
story; they interrupt the thread of the story just at the
point where we expect God to appear. They are not
a part of the argument of Job.

c. The speeches of Elihu do not contribute any-
thing essentially new to the argument. His great an-

swer is more Job's suffering as a punishment for sin,
which has already been said by Eliphaz and repeated by Job.

d. In addition, it becomes apparent as one reads
the story as a whole that the speeches of Elihu lack the
literary characteristics of those of the friends of Job.

It is clear that no absolute proof can be obtained,

but the arguments in opposition to the authenticity of
these speeches are strong. They appear to have been added
by some later author who was dissatisfied with Job's atti-

tude, with the insufficiency of the speeches of the
friends, and with the place given to Elihu's speeches.

Now we shall take our stand.

1. The speeches of Elihu are not a part of the original story.
2. The speeches of Elihu are not a part of the original story.
3. The speeches of Elihu are not a part of the original story.
4. The speeches of Elihu are not a part of the original story.
5. The speeches of Elihu are not a part of the original story.
6. The speeches of Elihu are not a part of the original story.
7. The speeches of Elihu are not a part of the original story.
8. The speeches of Elihu are not a part of the original story.
9. The speeches of Elihu are not a part of the original story.
10. The speeches of Elihu are not a part of the original story.

3. In the speeches of Yahweh, also, we find various scholastic theories. Their wrath unites in opposition to the description of Behemoth and Leviathan¹. The arguments are not convincing, though one must admit that Yahweh's speeches would increase in dignity and power if these passages were omitted. If such were done, says Eiselen², "the second speech of Yahweh would lose its significance as an independent speech, which may suggest that originally there was only one utterance of Yahweh."

Others, however, favor more radical measures. Some even go so far as to deny the Yahweh passages a place in the original document. Their reason lies in the fact that Yahweh offers no solution to Job's problem except in suggesting it is a mystery to be treated in reverence by man³. Their first argument lies in Yahweh's changed attitude toward Job from the Prologue to his speeches in the poetry section. That can be explained both by the acceptance of an earlier date for the prologue and the epilogue as we have already suggested, and also as a direct response to the impatience of Job. Further, if we accept the theory of one speech by Yahweh, we may be able to assign 42:3 to a later author and lose our problem at that point. We can

1 -- Job 40:15 - 41:34.

2 -- Ibid, p. 147.

3 -- Cheyne, T.K., Job and Solomon, p. 69.

3. In the analysis of Yahweh, it is clear that the various scholastic theories, which have arisen in connection with the question of Yahweh and Elohim, are not convincing, though they are not without value. The evidence which is brought forward in support of the view that Yahweh is a separate entity, distinct from Elohim, is not convincing. If such were the case, it is probable that the second speech of Yahweh would be lost. The evidence as to independent action, which may be regarded as distinct from the only one instance of Yahweh's action, is, however, never more than a suggestion. Some even go as far as to say that the Yahweh passages in the Bible are in the original document. Their reason lies in the fact that Yahweh offers no solution to Job's problem except in the suggestion that it is a mystery to be trusted in reverence by man. Their first argument lies in Yahweh's changed attitude toward Job from the beginning to the end of the story. That can be explained only by the acceptance of an earlier date for the original text and the conclusion that we have already suggested, and also as a direct response to the instance of Job. Further, if we accept the theory of one speech by Yahweh, we may be able to explain Job's last chapter and have our problem at that point. We can

1. Job 1:1-2:10
2. Job 2:11-3:26
3. Job 4:1-5:27
4. Job 6:1-7:10
5. Job 8:1-9:35
6. Job 10:1-11:20
7. Job 12:1-13:28
8. Job 14:1-15:35
9. Job 16:1-17:16
10. Job 18:1-19:29
11. Job 20:1-21:30
12. Job 22:1-23:40
13. Job 24:1-25:38
14. Job 26:1-27:23
15. Job 28:1-29:25
16. Job 30:1-31:40
17. Job 32:1-33:29
18. Job 34:1-35:13
19. Job 36:1-37:38
20. Job 38:1-39:30
21. Job 40:1-41:26
22. Job 42:1-43:12
23. Job 44:1-45:17
24. Job 46:1-47:26
25. Job 48:1-49:21
26. Job 50:1-51:42
27. Job 52:1-53:24
28. Job 54:1-55:22
29. Job 56:1-57:23
30. Job 58:1-59:24
31. Job 60:1-61:22
32. Job 62:1-63:24
33. Job 64:1-65:22
34. Job 66:1-67:24
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59. Job 116:1-117:24
60. Job 118:1-119:24
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68. Job 134:1-135:24
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221. Job 440:1-441:24
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589. Job 1176:1-1177:24
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594. Job 1186:1-1187:24
595. Job 1188:1-1189:24
596. Job 1190:1-1191:24
597. Job 1192:1-1193:24
598. Job 1194:1-1195:24
599. Job 1196:1-1197:24
600. Job 1198:1-1199:24
601. Job 1200:1-1201

well assume that the original book of Job contained at least one speech of Yahweh.

4. One more problem remains. It deals with that passage which has been called "The Soliloquy of Wisdom". If we are to accept the chapters 38 ff. as Yahweh's words and give them a place in the original book, the problem of chapter 28 becomes more acute. If such a submissive frame of mind had been Job's after his discussion with his friends, why need Yahweh appear at all? The chapters immediately following ¹ go back to the complaining attitude again. Budde suggests that the passage does not reflect resignation, but despair rather. This removes our difficulty but is not supported by the text. A more logical suggestion would be to feel that it is an inserted, priceless bit of wisdom literature. It might even find a place in the book of Job after 42:6 but we have no logical reason for placing it there ².

No one can fail to see that we are dealing with one of the world's greatest poems. It is the longest narrative poem in the Hebrew canon and it deals with the most insoluble problem of religious or secular history. It is full of "terse phrases, illuminating metaphors and

1 -- (29 - 31)

2 -- Eisselen, Ibid, p. 149-150.

will assume that the original book of Job contained 38

chapters and 42 verses.

4. The more probable reason. It seems right that

passages which have been called "the Soliloquy of Job,"

it was not to protect the chapters 38-41, as Yohanan's words

and give them a place in the original book, the chapter of

chapter 38 passage were added. It is a natural thing

of which has been Job's after his discussion with the

friends, why need Yohanan's answer at all? The only reason

is that the following is back to the concluding sentence

exists. But the evidence that the answer does not belong

isolation, but belongs rather. This answer is right-

fully but is not supported by the text. A more logical

suggestion would be to feel that it is an inserted, rather

less bit of poetic literature. It might even be a sign

of the book of Job after all; but we have no biblical res-

on the question of it.

So the new text is one that we are dealing with

one of the world's greatest poems. It is the longest

poetic poem in the Hebrew canon and it deals with the

most important problem of relations of man and nature.

It is full of "these things," "these things" and

1 - 100 - 100

1 - 100 - 100

similes, and brilliant descriptions."¹ In addition we find in chapter 31 "the fullest exposition of Hebrew moral ideals that we possess."²

We find three characteristics of life which are not only illuminating to us, but prove their practicality when placed in the light of modern experience. In the first place, suffering, which is a universal experience, is related to God. In the second place, Job's insistence on facing the worst, even if it should necessitate criticizing God, is not only a good example of courage but also the only road over which one may travel to intellectual achievements. Thirdly, one is impressed by Job's faith. He holds his beliefs against nature and humanity alike. He is sure that justice and goodness shall rule at last.

³
The book is divided as follows:

1. The Prologue -- chapters 1 & 2 -- in prose.
2. The Colloquies -- chapters 3 - 31 -- Job, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar -- in poetry.
3. The discourses of Elihu -- chapters 32 - 37 -- in poetry except 32:1-6, the introduction.
4. Jehovah's reply to Job -- 38:1 - 42:6 -- poetry.
5. The Epilogue -- recounting Job's subsequent fortunes -- in prose -- 42:7-17.

1 & 2 -- Lofthouse, W.F., "Job", in Abingdon Commentary, p. 488 and 489 -- cf. also Job 4:12-24; 5:18-27; 6:15-20; 16:11-14; 24:5-11 and 38:31-35.
3 -- Driver, Literature of the O. T., p. 409.

...and brilliant descriptions. In addition to
that in chapter 21 the highest expression of Hebrew
poetry is reached.

We find three characteristics of life which are
not only characteristic of us, but have been characteristically
when placed in the light of modern experience. In the
first place, suffering, which is a universal experience,
is related to God. In the second place, Job's insistence
on facing the worst, even if it should necessitate giving
up his God, is not only a good example of courage but also
the only road over which we may travel to intellectual
enlightenment. Finally, when he is threatened by Job's fall,
he holds his belief against nature and humanity alike.
He is more than just a man and a woman and a child at last.

The book is divided as follows:

1. The Prologue -- chapters 1 & 2 -- in prose.
2. The Colloquies -- chapters 3 - 31 -- Job,
Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar -- in poetry.
3. The discourse of Elihu -- chapters 32 - 37 --
in poetry and prose, the introduction.
4. Jehovah's reply to Job -- chapters 38 - 42 -- poetry.
5. The Epilogue -- recounting Job's repentance
and his restoration -- in prose -- chapters 42-43.

Job, a Drama in Five Acts
by Walter de la Mare
London: George G. Harrap & Co.
1903

5. Legal Literature.

To complete the Pentateuch, it but remains to consider "P". or the Priestly Code. Its history is a long one, and the battle that has raged over its date has been a hot one. Driver ¹ says that there are still those who would date it in its entirety during the 9th or 8th century B. C. This theory probably is based on the systematic methods and chronological tables produced by the writer or writers of "P". We have discovered, from time to time, errors in this chronology, thus the "a priori" argument will not hold. Our answer is that the dates could well be added at any time. Driver then goes into some detail ² in comparing the "P" document to other parts of the Hexateuch and other sections of the Old Testament and coming to the conclusion that "P" dates from the Babylonian Exile. He says so, because the pre-exilic period shows no indications of such a legal code. When "P" and "D" are compared, "P" is undoubtedly the older. Further "P", "at least, in some of its elements", ³ appears to be later than Ezekiel. Thus, he says, "they (the compilers of "P") belong to the exilic or early post-exilic period."⁴

1 -- L. O. T., p. 133

2 -- L. O. T., p. 136 ff.

3 -- L. O. T., p. 139.

4 -- Ibid, p. 142.

3. *Textual Criticism*

To compare the Pentateuch, it is necessary to consider the history of the text. The history is a long one, and the facts that have taken place over the last few centuries have been a long one. Every word that there are still those who would call it in its entirety but for the fact of 19th century E. C. This history generally is based on the systematic method and chronological tables produced by the writer or writers of "P". It has been discovered from time to time, errors in this connection, thus the "original" document will not hold. Our answer is that the text could well be called at any time. Given then goes into some detail in considering the "P" document in other parts of the Pentateuch and other sections of the Old Testament and coming to the conclusion that "P" dates from the Babylonian exile. It says so, because the text exhibits certain signs of indication of such a local origin. Even "P" and "P" are considered, "P" is undoubtedly the older. Further "P" has been found in some of the "Pentateuch" documents to be later than "P". Thus, the text, which (the contents of "P") belong to the exile or early post-exilic period.

1. *Textual Criticism*
2. *Textual Criticism*
3. *Textual Criticism*
4. *Textual Criticism*
5. *Textual Criticism*

Most authorities agree, and Creelman goes on to mention the fact that the first appearance of this code, as far as Jerusalem is concerned, dates with Ezra. Thus the compilation must have gone on throughout the century we are studying. We can date it generally from 500-400 B.C.

Its compilation can be so dated, but the various parts of the completed Pentateuch have earlier roots. Even before there was written law, there was oral tradition within the family, tribe, and clan. With this tradition there probably arose sagas and fables of the earlier days centered around the great characters of pre-Mosaic times. With the occupation of Palestine, and the worship of a new God, changes took place in custom and tradition which gradually led to a higher religious and social life. Each sanctuary, in all probability, had its lists of rules. Out of these grew longer lists of laws of which the Book of the Covenant¹ is the earliest².

During the period of the United Kingdom, and later after its division, we find increasing traces of literary compilations. Two of these, in the form of history, have been preserved and greatly affected the growth of the Pentateuch. These are commonly known as "J" and "E", the former

¹ -- Ex. 20:22 - 23:33.

² -- Jordan, W.G., "The Legal and Historical Literature of the Old Testament", in Abingdon Commentary, p. 146.

Most authorities agree, and Greenham goes on to mention the fact that the first appearance of this note, as far as I am aware, is connected, dates with 1770. Thus the compilation must have been made throughout the century as are standing. The date is generally from 1800-1805 A.D. The compilation was made in 1805, and the various parts of the compiled Pentateuch have earlier roots. Even before there was written law, there was oral tradition with its laws, rules, and also. With this tradition there probably arose again and again of the earlier have centered around the great characters of pre-Mosaic times. With the connection of Palestine, and the worship of a new God, there arose again in custom and tradition which gradually led to a richer religious and social life. Each sanctuary is all orphic, and the life of the nation. One of these great figures of life of which the Book of the Government is the earliest.

2

During the period of the Hebrews, Thomas, and later after the division, the first historical traces of Hebrew institutions. Two of these, in the form of history, have been preserved and clearly affected the growth of the nation. These are commonly known as "1" and "2", the latter

1 -- The Book of the Law
2 -- The Book of the History
3 -- The Book of the Prophecy
4 -- The Book of the Wisdom
5 -- The Book of the Science
6 -- The Book of the Art
7 -- The Book of the Mystery
8 -- The Book of the Secret
9 -- The Book of the Hidden
10 -- The Book of the Unknown

a product of Judah and the latter of Israel¹. Probably at the time of Manasseh, or during some other period of reaction, when it became necessary to impress upon the people the lessons here taught, the two documents were combined.

At approximately the same date "D" was produced. Here is a combination of the priestly and the prophetic. All of the moral fervor of the eighth-century prophets is found in the writing of this author or these authors.

During the reign of Josiah, the document "D" was accepted as the law of the land. Soon the desire to combine it with "J" and "E" became apparent. This desire was increased as national life came to an end and the few documents became more prized. Thus, in 560², the three were compiled into one.

As if in reply to the prophetic compilation of "J", "E", and "D", came the Holiness Code from the priestly circles³. Here they put into form a short group of laws with a priestly interpolation.

Down in the exile, Ezekiel added his thoughts to the fast growing group of documents in legal history⁴. Then came the fifth century and with it the foundation of "P" and the completion of the Pentateuch.

- 1 -- Eiselen, F.C., "The Pentateuch", in Abingdon Commentary,
- 2 -- Leslie, in Abingdon Commentary, p. 111. / p. 143.
- 3 -- Lev. 17-26; see Eiselen, in Abingdon Commentary, p. 143.
- 4 -- Ezekiel 40 to 48.

a product of Jewish and the father of Israel, which is
the time of Moses, or rather some other period of re-
action, when it became necessary to increase upon the people
the lessons here taught, the two documents were combined.
It is approximately the same date "H" was attached.
There is a consideration of the relative and the material.
All of the moral values of the eighth-century prophets is
found in the writer of this report or some other.

During the reign of Josiah, the document "H" was
accepted as the law of the Lord. Soon the desire to con-
fine it with "I" and "J" became apparent. This desire was
expressed as national life came to an end and the two docu-
ments became more united. Thus, in 580, the three were
combined into one.

As it is ready to the present population of
the "H", "J", and "I", came the Holiness Code from the priestly
class. Here they put into law a short canon of laws
with a priestly introduction.

Now in the exile, Ezekiel added his laws to
the first group of documents in Jewish history.
Then came the fifth century and with it the foundation of
the "H" and the completion of the Pentateuch.

I -- The first part of the Pentateuch, the first five books, is
the first part of the Pentateuch, the first five books, is
the first part of the Pentateuch, the first five books, is
the first part of the Pentateuch, the first five books, is

The Pentateuch was apparently a product of the exile. Tradition tells us that Ezra brought it with him in a completed form. Thus it must have been in the process of composition during the hundred years we are studying. "Thus, aside from minor alterations made at a still later time, the Pentateuch reached its completed form by the end of the fifth century. The finished work was called Torah or Law.¹"

One is impressed by the two-fold conception of the legalists. Truly, the Pentateuch is the Law book of the Hebrew peoples. But it is more than that. It is the Law book of God. The opening words are "In the beginning God", and that idea permeates the whole collection. It is the pivot point around which the Torah is built. Thus we can honestly say that the final compilation of the Law was the high point of the fifth century before Christ. It was one of the permanent contributions to history and religion. One after another of the events of the history is here portrayed, and their general acceptance testifies to their authenticity. The teachings remain unchanged whether they came from Moses or are a collection of ideas and ideals from the developing life of a people. The authorship problem does not affect the fact that the Hebrews were the first to

1 -- Eiselen, in Abingdon Commentary, p. 144.

The first thing we noticed when we entered the hall was the smell of the incense. The incense was not just any incense, it was the incense of the East. It was a mixture of many different spices and herbs, and it had a very strong, sweet, and spicy smell. The incense was burning in a large, ornate incense burner, and the smoke was rising into the air. The smell of the incense was very pleasant, and it made us feel like we were in a very special place. The incense was burning in a large, ornate incense burner, and the smoke was rising into the air. The smell of the incense was very pleasant, and it made us feel like we were in a very special place.

One is interested by the two-fold concept of the incense. Truly, the incense is the incense of the East. It is a mixture of many different spices and herbs, and it has a very strong, sweet, and spicy smell. The incense is burning in a large, ornate incense burner, and the smoke is rising into the air. The smell of the incense is very pleasant, and it made us feel like we were in a very special place. The incense is burning in a large, ornate incense burner, and the smoke is rising into the air. The smell of the incense is very pleasant, and it made us feel like we were in a very special place.

I am interested by the two-fold concept of the incense.

learn and teach that righteousness is the ultimate goal of life.

Thus, we close the century at 401 B. C., leaving Joel and Ruth and further comment upon Ezra to another. In leaving, we will glance a moment at the secular and uncanonical literature of the fifth century.

B. Uncanonical and Secular Literature Created in the Fifth Century.

We are now approaching a very interesting section of this paper. There is at least one creation from other sources than those we have examined.

1. The Elephantine Papyri .

This Elephantine is an island in the Nile in Upper Egypt which lies opposite Assouan. We owe a good deal of our knowledge of the Jews who settled here to Rubensohn and Zucker of Berlin during 1907 and 1908. The most important outcome of these excavations was the finding of a large number of documents written on papyrus in Aramaic which was supposedly the production of a Jewish military colony. We do not know just how they got there, though there are several possibilities. They might have been some of the original group who left Jerusalem after the murder
1 -- Oesterley-Robinson, p. 159 ff.

learn and teach that righteousness is the ultimate goal of

life.

Thus, we chose the cemetery at Ash H. S., Jersey

and both and further down the road to the right.

In passing, we will give a moment to the cemetery and the

historical literature of the fifth century.

5. Historical and Cultural Literature of the Fifth Century

We are now approaching a very important section

of this work. There is at least one question from other

sources that have been examined.

I. The Historical Source

This literature is an index to the life in

the past. It is the only source of the life of the

past of our knowledge of the life who lived here in

Jerusalem. The source of the life who lived here in

the past is the source of the life who lived here in

the past is the source of the life who lived here in

the past is the source of the life who lived here in

the past is the source of the life who lived here in

the past is the source of the life who lived here in

the past is the source of the life who lived here in

I. The Historical Source

of Gedaliah and who sought military service to support themselves, after the conquest of Egypt by Persia. This belief is supported by Sachau's papyri of 408 when he states that the colony was at Elephantine and the temple built before the arrival of Cambyses in 525 B. C.

A later document, "The Letter of Aristeas",¹ which can be dated sometime in the first century B. C. , suggests that many Jews entered Egypt with the Persians and that others had been sent out as hired soldiers to fight with Psammetichus against the Ethiopians. It is but a step from this suggestion to the thought that some of these folks remained as a Persian garrison in Elephantine. Both of these possibilities could be accepted as solutions without too much conflict. If this latter view is held, the original group might have been augmented by those mentioned in Jeremiah 43 and 44. Indeed, it may be that the reason this group left Jerusalem was to find a congenial welcome from those already there.

But there still remains a very difficult problem for our consideration. If these Jews came directly to Elephantine from Palestine, why are the papyri of the fifth century written in Aramaic? Surely that language was not yet in vogue in Israel for Ezra and Nehemiah were
¹ -- Oesterley-Robinson, Ibid, p. 159 ff.

of Babylon and who sought military assistance against
the Assyrians, after the capture of Nineveh by Sennacherib. This
belief is supported by Eusebius's report of 400 when he
states that the colony was at Elephantine and the temple
built before the arrival of Darius in 525 B. C.

A later document, "The Letter of Aristeas",
which can be dated sometime in the first century B. C.,
states that very few Jews were known to the Egyptians
and that others had been sent out of Egypt because of
their religious practices against the Egyptians. It is not
a case from this connection to the fact that some of
these Jews remained as a Jewish colony in Elephantine.
Both of these possibilities could be possible as solutions
although too much is left. If this latter view is held,
the original group which have been mentioned as those who
remained in Elephantine is not 44. Indeed, it may be that the
reason this group left Jerusalem was in their religious
views from those already there.

But there still remains a very difficult problem
for our consideration. It must have been the only
Jewish colony from Jerusalem, and the colony of the
12th century existed in Jerusalem. Surely that Jerusalem
was not yet to return to Israel for Jews and Babylonians
I --

written mainly in Hebrew. There are two possible solutions — either that they changed to Aramaic after they arrived in Egypt to keep up with the changing styles of the day, or else that they didn't come from Palestine at all. If not, where did they come from? Well, they might have been some of those first exiles who went to Assyria after the fall of Samaria and who left Assyria for Elephantine, with a knowledge of Aramaic, in the armies of Assyria. This is only conjecture, of course, but we know that Ashur-bani-pal entered Egypt and conquered it in 667 and following. Oesterley¹ suggests if this theory last named is accepted, it explains much in connection with this colony.

In the first place, it explains many language difficulties, names of Assyrian and Babylonian origin which appear in the papyri, and also the fact that they call themselves so often Aramaeans and so seldom Jews.

It might also explain why the Temple was not destroyed as the others were when Cambyses arrived in 525. It might explain, too, why these people wrote to both the governor of Judah and of Samaria when they wanted to rebuild their Temple. Further, it might throw some light on their religious customs.

This explanation is not universally accepted.

1 -- P. 162.

written mainly in Hebrew. There are two possible explanations
— either that they changed to Arabic after they arrived
in Egypt or that they were with the Egyptians at the time of the day,
or else that they didn't come from Palestine at all. It
not, where did they come from? Well, they might have been
some of those first exiles who went to Assyria after the
fall of Samaria and the fall of Assyria for Eliphaz, with
a knowledge of Arabic, in the service of Assyria. It is
only conjecture, of course, but we know that Ashur-pan-
batar I and his son and successor, Ashur-uballit II, who
reigned from 858 to 824 and 824 to 803, were in contact with
the Assyrians. It is likely that they were in contact with
the Assyrians and in connection with this colony.

In the light of this, it explains why Samaria
difficulties, names of Assyrian and Babylonian origin which
appear in the Bible, and also the fact that they call
themselves as after Assyrian and as related to
It might also explain why the Bible was not dis-
tinguished as the others were when they arrived in 587.
It might explain, too, why these people were so good in
government of Judah and of Samaria when they wanted to re-
build their Temple. Further, it might throw some light on
their religious customs.
This explanation is not universally accepted.

¹
Crowley raises two objections which are valid — that the Persians would hardly have trusted the folk in an Assyrian garrison and also that the folk themselves never mention Israel. Yet, this seems the only logical answer yet proposed.

²
Sixty-two whole documents and some fragments have so far been found, all belonging to the fifth century B. C. They were all written by Jews, some of whom we find mentioned in the Old Testament ³. Most of these documents are concerned with business transactions such as loan transactions, property transfers, etc.

One of the most interesting of these has been mentioned elsewhere in this paper. It is addressed to Bagoas of Judah, asking his permission to replace the temple that had been destroyed by Egyptian priests. It described the destruction as well ⁴. The first document was ignored so they sent another which brought permission, not, probably, from the two governors addressed, but from Arsames through their intercession. This seems peculiar, inasmuch as the Deuteronomic law of 621, or shortly after,

1 -- Aramaic Papyri, p. 15, 16.

2 -- Oesterley, p. 163.

3 -- Hosea, Azariah, Zephaniah, Jonathan, Coniah, Zechariah, Nathan, Isaiah, etc.

4 -- Crowley, A., Jewish Documents of Time of Ezra, No. 27 p. 67.

... raises two objections which are valid — the
the ... have ... the ...
... also ...
... this ...
... yet ...

... and ...
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... etc.

... of these ...
... it is ...
... to ...
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centralized all worship at Jerusalem. Perhaps this shows to what depths the law had fallen by 400 B. C.

These people worshipped Yahweh, or Yahu as they called him, but they also had other Gods and had developed a sacrificial system and a priesthood. They kept the passover and other Jewish feasts, and the women worshipped with them.

One of the outstanding values of these documents is their authenticity. They were written at the time when the event they describe took place, preserving the actual words and writing of the century we are studying. Here we have no problems of history, no added bits of editorial comment or false correction to fit the whim and fancy of the translator. "They are the earliest Jewish documents, except one or two inscriptions, outside of the Bible."¹

The effect of these colonists on their homeland must have been great, for Professor Meyer begins his book on these papyri with this remark: "Judaism is a creation of the Persian Empire."²

These documents are interesting and enlightening.

1 -- Crowley, A., Jewish Documents of Time of Ezra, No. 27, p. X.

2 -- Meyer, E., The Papyrus of Elephantine.

contrasted all written at Jerusalem. Because this shows
in that sense the law was given by God to the
"these people worshipped Yahweh, or Yahu as they
called him, and they also had other gods and had devotions
a established system and a superstition. They had no
passover and other Jewish feasts, and the women were dressed
with them.

One of the outstanding values of these documents
is their authenticity. They were written at the time when
the event they describe took place, preserving the actual
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The effect of these documents on their readers
must have been great, for Professor Meyer began his book
on these documents with this remark: "I should be a question
of the Jewish people."

These documents are interesting and of interest.

- 1 - The Jewish People, by Professor Meyer, pp. 1-100.
- 2 - The Jewish People, by Professor Meyer, pp. 101-200.

IV. The Problems of the Period.

A. Political.

1. Government.

During the fifth century B. C. the land of Palestine remained under Persian rule. This massive oriental empire was divided into satrapies¹. A governor was appointed for each satrapy and with him a military leader and a secretary. Each was a check against the other, and each owed his allegiance direct to the King. Damascus was the probable official capital of the Syrian satrapy. As the century opened we find Zerubbabel, a Jew, ruling as pekah in Jerusalem. Again in 444 or 445 Nehemiah assumed that position.

In neither case did the hopes of the prophets or people reach fruition. The Jews remained a captive people throughout the century. Further than that, Israel was surrounded by hostile or unfriendly nations. Zerubbabel had Darius' permission to build the wall, but the first attempt was frustrated by Tattenai and Shethar-bozenai in 515. The second attempt met with even worse results when, in 460 - 455, Rehum and Shimshai, with permission from Artaxerxes, raised troops from Samaria, Ammon, Moab, and elsewhere and

1 -- See page 21 ff. on this thesis.

1
attacked Jerusalem . This hatred, coupled with the fact that many of the Jews were still in captivity, and augmented by the great distance that separated Palestine from the seat of the empire, made life one great political problem for which there was no solution.

Failing to achieve their freedom and a chance to rebuild their state, the Jews, in the fifth century turned to other sources. They developed a legal, moral, and religious code, and established Judaism. Thus the internal priesthood became the governing body with the political power, which they held, with more or less success, long after the time of Christ.

B. Economic Problems.

It is easy to trace the economic trend of Israel if we follow her political developments. A nomadic people live a primitive, pastoral life. They never quite forgot their earlier, easier life, and there was always someone who would suggest that this new civilization was bought at too high a price. Many there were who would have preferred to remain either making brick in Egypt or herding sheep on the desert.

For their agricultural life the Jews could not

1 -- Kennett, R.H., "Israel", in Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VII, p. 454.

attacked Jerusalem. This battle, coupled with the fact that many of the Jews were still in captivity, and assisted by the great distance that separated Palestine from the east of the empire, made life one great political problem for which there was no solution.

Failure to achieve their freedom and a chance to rebuild their state, the Jews, in the fifth century turned to other sources. They developed a legal, moral, and religious code, and established Judaism. From this internal outgrowth became the governing body with the political power, which they held, with more or less success, long after the time of Christ.

3. Jewish Nationalism

It is easy to trace the economic trend of Israel. It was toward political development. A notable example is the primitive, pastoral life. They were cattle herders, their earlier, easier life, and there was always someone who would suggest that this new civilization was bought at too high a price. Many there were who would have preferred to remain either asking price in Egypt or herding sheep on the desert.

For their agricultural life the Jews could not
 I - History of the Jewish People, Vol. VII, p. 112

have found a better home. One would find it difficult to discover a land of such small dimensions with such diversities of climate and soil. In Palestine the Jews could¹ raise practically any crop they desired .

Yet in the fifth century we find a people who, for almost a century, have suffered for want of food and necessities of life in Palestine. Either the land was worn out by this time or else too much was required in taxes. The main economic problem was personal and national in the fifth century. Personal inasmuch as the battle was for existence, and national insofar as all residents of Israel were effected. Certainly there was little there to call back the exiles to their homeland.

During the time of Nehemiah, we have already seen, the rich and medium wealthy were forced to contribute of their income to take care of the poor.

C. Social Problems.

1. The Evolution and Development of Hebrew Social Life, Institutions, and Legislation.

"When one undertakes the study of Hebrew social institutions, he is concerned with a development that stretches over more than a thousand years."²

1 -- Soares, The Social Institutions and Ideals of the Bible, gives a complete discussion of this section, (p. 76-80)

2 -- Soares, Ibid, p. 19.

have found a better home. One would like to find a better
 discover a land of such small dimensions with such little
 riches of climate and soil. In Palestine the Jews could
 raise drastically and even they desired.

Yet in the fifth century as the Jews found a home, and
 for almost a century they suffered for want of food and
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 in the fifth century. Personal through the Jews was
 the existence, and national through the Jews was the
 Jewish state. Certainly there was little more to
 call back the Jews to their homeland.

During the time of Nebuchadnezzar, we have already seen,
 the rich and middle wealthy were forced to contribute of
 their income to take care of the poor.

3. Social conditions.

1. The Jewish state was a small state, and it was a
 Jewish state, and it was a Jewish state.

"Then one understands the story of Jewish social
 conditions, he is concerned with a development that
 stretched over more than a thousand years."

1. The Jewish state was a small state, and it was a
 Jewish state, and it was a Jewish state.

From the first history of the Hebrews that we have to the time of Ezra, shortly after the close of the fifth century, the social life of the Jews was undergoing a rapid change. That development did not stop with Ezra, of course, but that is as far as we are going. There are four great stages that we shall now consider before taking note of the specific problems.

Let us go back, first, to the social life of the scattered, loosely-knit tribes of primitive Israel. Nomadic life determined their social customs. The organization was patriarchal; their wealth was only that which could be carried or driven as they moved. They were fighters, and they had slaves to fight their battles and do their menial work. Though the Hebrews later idealized this period, it must be remembered that it was all primitive socially.

In the organized life to the exile there is seen a great advance in life. They learned the art of organized warfare and cumulative agriculture. They built cities, permanent houses, and walls. Social customs had to change. The patriarchal organization was modified by numbers. With the kings the development of social rules and laws increased. As we see them develop we marvel at their genius.

Again the exile changed the social life, modifying the future of Judaism quite materially. Most conquests and

From the first history of the Hebrews that we have to the time of Ezra, shortly after the close of the fifth century, the social life of the Jews was undergoing a rapid change. That development did not stop with Ezra, of course, but that is as far as we are going. There are four great stages that we shall now consider before taking note of the specific problems.

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In the organized life to the exile there is seen a great advance in life. They learned the art of organized warfare and cumulative accumulation. They built cities, permanent houses, and walls. Social customs had to change. The patriarchal organization was modified by numbers, and the lines the development of social rules and laws increased. As we see these changes we cannot but feel that

from the exile onward the social life, religious and the future of Judaism quite essentially, "lost character and

the subsequent exile of the population puts an end to any social life at all. Not so Israel. The exiles absolutely refused to become Babylonian. They continually looked toward the future of their homeland. They learned much and eventually Babylon and Persia greatly effected the future of the Jews, but never did they win them completely. Their very insistence caused them to preserve custom and law for the future in literature, which is a great boon not only for history but also for sociology and religion. This is called "theoretical legislation"¹ for there was no immediate chance to use it, but it gathered authority as it went along.

The post-exilic and fifth century society was largely ecclesiastical as we have noted from time to time. It was impossible to have independent national existence. All of the legal and monarchic forms of life are impossible. Thus they developed religion as we shall see shortly.

This period had no great social prophet as did many of the centuries of the past, but it had a great lay leader in Nehemiah who met some social problems for Jerusalem.²

1 -- Soares, p. 24.

2 -- See section of history on Nehemiah.

The emigrant exile of the population puts an end to any social life as such. The exile absolutely refused to become Babylonian. They conditionally looked for and the future of their homeland. They learned much and eventually Babylon and Persia greatly affected the future of the Jews, but never did they lose their nationality. Early very influence passed from the outside world and the Jew the future in literature, which is a great deal and only for history but also for sociology and religion. This is called "historical Judaism" for there was no other state chance to see it, but it was not entirely as it was of old.

The post-exile and fifth century societies were largely reconstructed as we have noted from time to time. It was impossible to have independent national existence. All of the Jewish and Samaritanic forces of this era were wiped. Thus they developed religion as we shall see.

This period had no great social movement as did many of the centuries of the past, but it had a great lay leader in Nehemiah who set social problems for Jews.

Later.

1. - The Jews of the Diaspora
2. - The Jews of the Diaspora as a whole.

2. The Family — Marriage — Education.

First in importance up to this time was the father who began his rule in the days of the clan. The position of the wife was entirely subordinate. She was still purchased with money from her father in the time of the story of Ruth ¹. There was a general practice among the higher groups of polygamy. This Nehemiah had to face. He drew the suggestion that no new foreign marriages be made. Men could and did increasingly divorce their wives. This brings out the criticism of Malachi so it must have been an increasing problem. Not until the Roman days could a woman get a divorce. Infidelity brought death to a woman, but a man was practically free if he did not reach the realm of another man. Despite this, though, the position of a mother was high in this era of Judaism ². Bonds of love did unite the families of Israel as we can well see in the story of Ruth which must have had a basis in fact. Malachi ³ uses the family life to symbolize the relations of Jehovah with his people. Here, alone, was education carried on in Israel.

D. Religious Problems.

Religion in Israel began with the Taboo and

1 -- Ruth 4:10 (4th Century B.C.)

2 -- Psalm 45:16 f. etc.

3 -- Malachi 2:10.

Holiness. This was not only Jewish but verily universal. There were food taboos, death taboos, disease taboos, such as leprosy, and the taboos around reproduction.

The second step was that of sacrifice and offerings. The first idea was the gift sacrifice and then came the meal sacrifice and the festival — all of which were continued in the fifth century. In Nehemiah and Malachi we find an insistence on the return to the tithe and first-fruit gifts. The sabbath in the fifth century is apparently abused, though Nehemiah seems temporarily to have put the practice in its correct place ¹.

Practically the only new custom of the exile and post-exile periods is found in the synagogue. Religion in the fifth century was a center of interest. Up to 460 the conditions were bad, then for a few years they improved only to lapse again until the time of Ezra.

1 -- Nehemiah 10:31; 13:15-22.

Hollander. This was not only Jewish but verily universal. There were food taboos, death taboos, disease taboos, such as leprosy, and the taboos around reproduction.

The second step was that of asceticism and ritualism. The first laws were the gift asceticism and then came the real asceticism and the festival — all of which were contained in the fifth century. In Hebrew and Islamic

we find an interference on the return to the time and ritualistic gifts. The Sabbath in the fifth century is an extremely ancient, though Hebrew seems tentatively to have put the practice in the correct place.

Presumably the only one master of the exile and post-exile periods is found in the synagogue. Religion in the fifth century was a center of interest. Up to 480 the conditions were bad, then for a few years they improved only to lapse again until the time of Ezra.

V. Summary.

The fifth century is a period of interest. It was truly a valuable period in Jewish history. That is surprising inasmuch as we have lost far more than half of what occurred during that short period. The heritage of the past marked Israel's development as we have seen and has necessitated a continued reference to the past in the writing of this paper. Her contributions to the future were many and one can only admire the rapidity with which this people recovered its balance after the exile, and the wealth of literature it produced for posterity.

Thus we have taken a rapid survey of a little group of folk, beaten and captivated, yet with a spirit that could not be killed, an ardor that would not cool.

In our century we find the work of some of the last of the prophets, a great lay leader, and the beginnings of Judaism under a great priest. The latter is not a direct product of this century, but it was during the latter years of our study that he prepared himself.

Ezra it was who, during the fifth century, gathered the Pentateuch together. This, in itself, would be a contribution worthy of any century, but it is not all. Within this span of years came a book of hymns for the second Temple, a bit of wisdom literature which grapples

The fifth century is a period of transition. It was truly a valuable period in Jewish history. There is something inasmuch as we have lost for more than half of that scattered during that early period. The picture of the past which Israel's development as we have seen and has represented a continuous reference to the past in the writing of this paper. Her contributions to the future were many and we can only hope the facility with which this people recovered its history after the exile, and the wealth of literature it produced for posterity.

Thus we have taken a round survey of a little group of folk, beaten and mastered, yet with a spirit that could not be killed, an order that could not cool.

In our century we find the work of some of the best of the generation, a great lay leader, and the place of Judaism under a great effort. The latter is not a direct product of this century, but it was during the latter years of our study that he presented himself.

There it was also, during the fifth century, gathered the Pentateuch together. This, in itself, would be a contribution worthy of any century, but it is not all. Within this area of years came a book of hymns for the second Temple, a bit of wisdom literature with prophecies

with the greatest of man's problems, suffering, and four bursts of prophecy.

It is not difficult for any age of prosperity to be happy. It is not wholly inexplainable for an age of depression and despair to become melancholy and degenerate. The Jews of the fifth century did not fit either classification. Their nation was gone, their people were scattered, and their crops were poor, but they kept on the upward trail. The captives learned the customs and industries of their captors. Those in Egypt gave the future the Papyri, those in Babylon gave posterity the Pentateuch and Judaism, and those at home built new walls, a new altar and the second Temple. They sang new songs and collected the old; they grappled with theology and saw a new God; they prophesied and not only made the future hopeful, but also the present practical. They met their own problems and gave to the future an inescapable heritage. The challenge of the fifth century lives on today.

with the greatest of care and attention, and the

results of the study.

It is not difficult for any one of us to see that

we have. It is not difficult for any one of us to

understand and explain to others the principles and the

The laws of the fifth century are not the same as the

present. Their laws are good, their results are good

and their laws are good, but their laws are

different. The present laws are different from the

laws of the fifth century. There is a great difference

between the laws of the fifth century and the laws

and the laws of the fifth century are not the same as the

and the laws of the fifth century. They are not the same as the

the old; they are not the same as the old; they are not the

they are not the same as the old; they are not the same as the

also the present laws. The laws of the fifth century

and the laws of the fifth century are not the same as the

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and numerous other sources which were consulted on points of issue. Some of these are found in the introduction and the footnotes of the body of the thesis, others are not even referred to.

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